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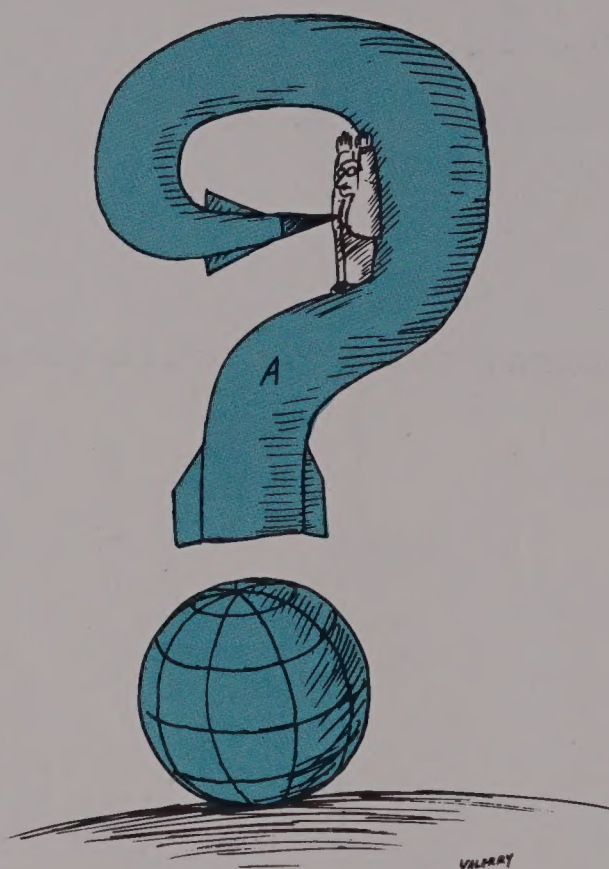
INSIDE

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the peace dividend for
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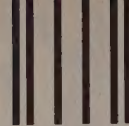
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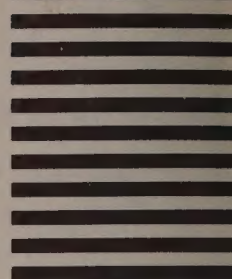
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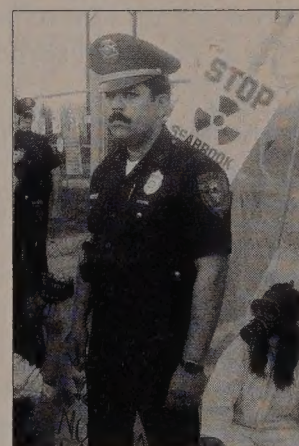
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Editors' Note End of the Cold War?

Now that the Cold War is over...." That's a familiar refrain. We use words like it often, but perhaps it's premature even to suggest that the long and bitter rivalry between Washington and Moscow is coming to a conclusion. As we close this issue of *Nuclear Times* around May Day, U.S.-Soviet relations are again in danger of deteriorating, nuclear arsenals and military spending remain undiminished, and the hot spots around the world have scarcely cooled.

The crisis in Lithuania demonstrates the fragility of the new detente. If Gorbachev's reforms continue to be sidetracked by nationalist uprisings in the USSR—and it's hard to imagine a more placid course this summer—U.S. conservatives are sure to launch a new anti-Soviet offensive. The prospects for deep cuts in Pentagon spending and nuclear weapons, already bleak, will continue to weaken.

Realists among us have already cautioned against the euphoria attending the opening of the Berlin Wall. As Michael Bedford reports in this issue, the willingness of the big powers to use the Pacific as a nuclear playground continues unabated. Little activism is directed at this region. Yet in the Pacific and its rim, so many pivotal events have shaped the last 20 years—wars in Indochina, the economic rise of Japan, bloodshed in Tiananmen Square, unrest in Korea, antinuclear policy in New Zealand. The Pacific will grow in importance as the U.S. military seeks "platforms" for third world intervention and maintains its enormous nuclear presence.

However fragile, the end of the Cold War is not merely to be wished, but planned. Here at home, activists in increasing numbers are working on military spending issues, trying to wrest from the administration a "peace dividend" (we prefer the term "war reparations," which more accurately conveys the need to invest in neglected—and wounded—parts of America). *Nuclear Times* offers an information-packed guide to conversion—different approaches to a peace economy that can engage activists in many ways.

Like the problems of nuclear weapons and island sovereignty in the Pacific, conversion won't magically appear among decision-makers' priorities unless we put it there. Other questions we raise in this issue—arms transfers, South Africa sanctions, environmental concerns, a nuclear test ban, a just peace in Central America—likewise will be neglected by policy and opinion leaders if activists do not confront them on each.

Even if U.S.-Soviet relations do not spiral downward this year, bringing the Cold War to an end at home and abroad will not occur automatically. We must be a conscience and a catalyst both, whether the Cold War seems to be thawing or not.

Cover: Navy sailors watch a nuclear test during Operation Crossroads in July 1946 over the Bikini Islands.

Photo credit: National Archives

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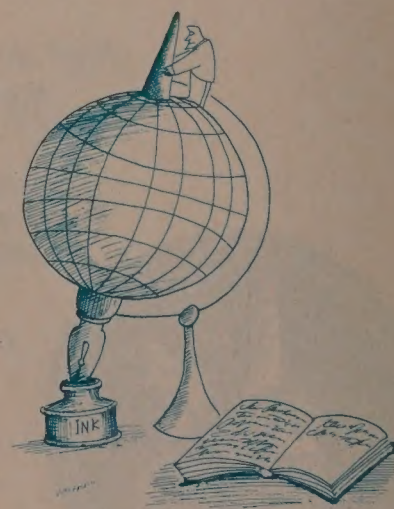
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DISPATCHES

PHYSICIANS ACT GLOBALLY
FOR TEST BAN

An extraordinary, worldwide organizing effort to enact a nuclear test ban has been launched by the global network of physicians that captured the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985. The International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), in concert with dozens of other organizations, is convening a series of meetings and actions around the globe to demand a comprehensive test ban (CTB) on nuclear weapons.

The initial event in late May is an International Citizens Congress in Alma-Ata, near the Soviet test site. It is cosponsored by Nevada/Semipalatinsk, the advocacy group within the Soviet Union that has already won a commitment from the Kremlin to close the site in 1993. In addition to workshops and strategy sessions, the four-day gathering will be highlighted by a massive demonstration by 50,000 people, perhaps the largest-ever public outcry for an end to nuclear testing.

A number of U.S. groups are participating, including SANE/FREEZE, Downwinders, Mobilization for

Survival, Federation of American Scientists, Physicians for Social Responsibility, and Greenpeace, among others. "The Alma-Ata meeting will heighten the testing issue within the Soviet Union and pressure Gorbachev to cut off

American Downwinders and their Soviet counterparts, the Karaul victims of Soviet nuclear tests."

The Alma-Ata events will boost CTB efforts at a particularly crucial time. Not only will it send a message to the

American group in the effort, the U.S. CTB Coalition. IPPNW is following the Alma-Ata congress with meetings around the world. In July, Latin Americans will gather in Costa Rica; in August, the Philippines will host a meeting of Pacific and Pacific Rim peoples; in early September, representatives from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal will meet in New Delhi; and in mid-September, Coventry, England, will be the gathering place for Europeans. A smaller meeting of Mediterranean and Mideast IPPNW chapters will convene in Italy in October.

"We will be asking the countries of those regions to play a strong role at the amendment conference in January, and to urge the U.S., U.K., and USSR to move toward a test ban," Stein says.

Indeed, 22 U.S. senators have introduced a binding resolution that would require the president to negotiate a comprehensive nuclear test ban at the amendment conference. A preparatory meeting for that January conclave, to be held at the United Nations this June, will signal the superpowers' positions and inform activists of the work required in the months ahead.



CITIZENS OF KAZAKHSTAN PROTEST NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING IN AUGUST 1989.

testing again," says Norman Stein, deputy director of IPPNW. "It will also help put testing on the Bush-Gorbachev summit agenda.

"Events at the Soviet test site seem to gain more attention than what happens at our own test site," Stein explains. "In April, 1,000 people were arrested while protesting at the Nevada site, and it barely was noticed in the press. Reporters based in Moscow are particularly interested in the meeting of

summit, but it sets the stage for two key meetings in coming months: the review conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in August, and the amendment conference of the Partial Test Ban Treaty in January. The January conference will have the authority to enact a CTB, though the United States and Britain officially oppose the amendment process.

Bringing global pressure on the conferees is a primary goal of IPPNW and the key

CAPTURING THE PEACE DIVIDEND

By Geoffrey Aronson

In January, Ruth Flower, the legislative secretary of the American Friends Service Committee's national legislation committee, began stalking the corridors on Capitol Hill in search of supporters for the Citizens Budget Campaign (CBC), a cooperative effort by 40 religious-action, peace, and domestic-needs organizations to apply the "peace dividend" to domestic programs.

Notwithstanding the momentous transformations in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union last fall, it was business as usual on the Hill. "We were told that we were too early, that we were overreacting to events in Europe," explains Flower, a member of the CBC steering committee. Legislators, it seemed, would at best tinker with the Bush administration's \$303.3 billion military budget request for fiscal year 1991.

"But when we went back in March, aides told us, 'Sure, we're in favor of cuts; the issue is how much and how soon.' Legislators are hearing higher expectations from home," Flower says of this turnaround, "and that makes a big difference."

The CBC hopes to capitalize on the desire to cut military spending that has occurred in recent months—a change that has made Capitol Hill more receptive to the CBC's four-point call for:

- Increased spending on domestic human needs programs like housing and health care.

- Significant cuts in military spending, and support for conversion from military to civilian production.

- Reduction in the federal deficit.

- Progressive tax reform.

"There's been a radical change in Congress's willingness to consider new ideas, a new openness," observes Flower, a veteran of frustrating efforts to cut military spending during the Reagan presidency. For the first time in years, both establishment politicians, such as Senate Budget Committee chair James Sasser (D-TN), and CBC members, such as SANE/FREEZE, Bread for the World, and National IMPACT, agree on the downward direction of military spending. The issue that Congress must decide—and that the CBC is mobilizing to influence—is how much to cut this year from the president's program and how best to formulate a defense and budget strategy for the post-Cold War era.

Religious, domestic-policy, and peace organizations have traditionally mounted separate annual lobbying efforts during budget season to hawk their agenda. But in March 1989, representatives from these constituencies got together to see if they could agree on principles for collective action.

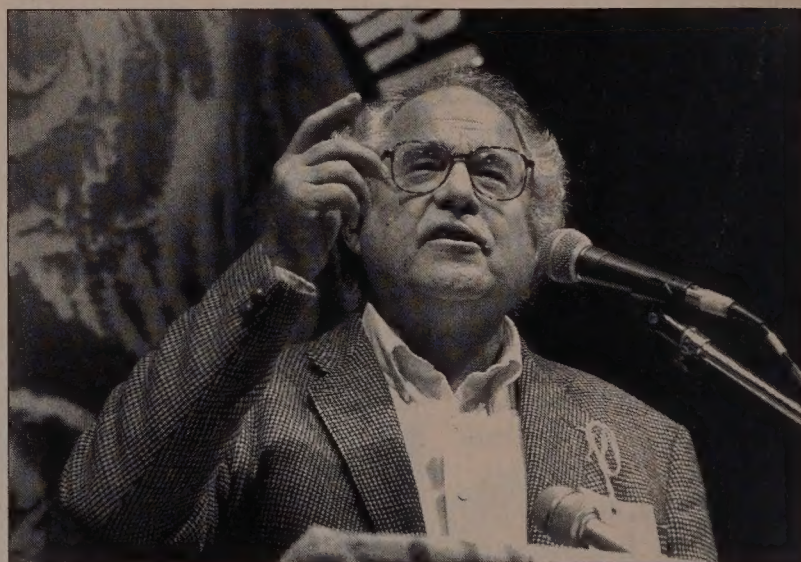
The CBC's four-point program resulted from these efforts. Today 40 national organizations, most of them religious, have endorsed the CBC agenda and lent their support to a national grassroots lobbying effort aimed at its implementation. "We hope the CBC will provide the umbrella behind various initiatives," explains Rich

West, communications director of the National Low-Income Housing Coalition and a member of the CBC steering committee, "so that instead of one we will have 40 groups lobbying at the same time."

West points to the 50,000 postcards mailed to House Budget Committee chair Leon Panetta (D-CA) as proof of the effectiveness of coalition efforts. In a breakfast meeting with the CBC's ten-member Hill lobbying group, Panetta announced his support for the principle of a reduction in defense outlays,

and noted that cards are still coming in to his office at a rate of 1,000 per week.

In defense budget deliberations, \$288 billion is the magic number. For that is the figure for fiscal year 1991 defense outlays that will result if the automatic reductions called for in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill kick in. Both Rep. Barney Frank's (D-MA) "Budget for a Strong America" and the Congressional Black Caucus's "Quality of Life Budget" call for deeper defense cuts—to \$285 billion and \$279.5 billion, respectively. Many coalition



JOHN JERNIGAN

MORE THAN 550 PARTICIPANTS FROM ACROSS THE UNITED STATES AND 14 OTHER COUNTRIES LISTENED TO WILLIAM SLOANE COFFIN (ABOVE) OPEN THE THIRD ANNUAL SANE/FREEZE CONFERENCE HELD IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, IN FEBRUARY. "IT'S A NEW WORLD, AND FOR A NEW WORLD WE NEED NEW POLITICS," COFFIN TOLD THE CONFEREES. "OUR ULTIMATE GOAL IS COMPLETE AND COMPREHENSIVE DISARMAMENT. AND TO APPROACH IT WE CLEARLY NEED TO DEPOLARIZE, DEMILITARIZE, AND TRANSNATIONALIZE GLOBAL POLITICS. THAT'S THE KIND OF POLITICS WE NEED FOR OUR NEW WORLD."

COFFIN, WHO HAS SERVED AS PRESIDENT OF SANE/FREEZE SINCE JANUARY 1988, WILL BE RETIRING FROM HIS POST IN DECEMBER, BUT WILL CONTINUE WITH THE ORGANIZATION IN A LESS DEMANDING ROLE. COFFIN TOLD HIS BOARD, "I WANT TO GO ON SERVING, BUT IN A CAPACITY THAT ALLOWS ME MORE TIME FOR READING, REFLECTION, AND WRITING."

CONFERENCE DELEGATES SET FIVE-YEAR PROGRAM GOALS SEEKING A 90 PERCENT CUT IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS; A 50 PERCENT CUT IN THE MILITARY BUDGET AND A RETURN OF THOSE FUNDS TO THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY; A BILATERAL HALT TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS PRODUCTION, TESTING, AND DEPLOYMENT BY THE UNITED STATES AND SOVIET UNION; OPPOSITION TO U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES; AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF NONVIOLENT RESOLUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT. AT THE TOP OF THEIR LIST FOR THE NEXT YEAR IS THE CREATION OF MILITARY BUDGET ACTION PROGRAMS IN AT LEAST 100 COMMUNITIES IN KEY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS.

members have endorsed, as individual organizations, the Black Caucus's alternative, and Frank's bill also has strong public-interest group support. Yet Flower insists that "we lobby for anything in the direction of the four principles, rather than endorse one in particular."

The CBC steering committee has targeted two groups of legislators for its lobbying campaign: members of the crucial Senate and House Budget Committees, and a shortlist of members whose past record suggests a willingness to cut military spending. Two-member CBC lobbying teams—one member who's conversant on domestic issues, the other on defense matters, and with an occasional third member to speak on environmental concerns—twice have made the rounds of budget committee member staff aides to pitch the CBC program. Plans are underway to lobby the target group and to mobilize coalition representatives in 32 key districts throughout the country to demonstrate the extent of local, grassroots support for the CBC package.

This summer, the CBC's lobbying efforts will focus on the defense authorization bill, where the battle about specific defense systems—the B-2, MX, Midgetman, Trident, and troop levels in Europe and the Far East—will be conducted.

"However the numbers come out this year," says Flower, "we have made a start towards some substantial changes in the next decade."

Geoffrey Aronson writes about international affairs from Washington, D.C.

AIN'T GONNA STUDY WAR

Conversion of military research and development (R&D) may be another dividend of the U.S. budget: if we stop studying war, perhaps we'll make less of it. With approximately 70 percent of the federal R&D budget in science and technology going to military research, this is an issue that's pushing students and faculty back into the peace movement.

University research conversion efforts range from campaigns to refuse military funding to detailed alternative research plans, linking social needs to available technical resources. Much of the activity centers around the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and the University of California.

At UMass, over 150 students and community activists have been arrested since April 1989, protesting military research on campus. Physicians for Social Responsibility and the American Friends Service Committee joined the UMass campaign, which is led by People for a Socially Responsible University (PSRU) and the University Anti-intervention, Disarmament, and Conversion Project. The protests began after the publication of PSRU findings that Pentagon-funded research at UMass has increased 20-fold in the last decade.

Biological warfare research has drawn most of the fire, but protesters are also concerned about nerve gas, Star Wars, computer-guided battlefield management, and other military-funded research in the computer sci-

ence, chemical and electrical engineering, and polymer science departments. The Defense Department funds about \$12 million of UMass's research, out of a total research budget of almost \$54 million. The military research includes a \$1 million project on the biological warfare agent anthrax bacilli.

Over a hundred UMass faculty have endorsed PSRU's call for an end to all Pentagon-funded research on campus and development of a conversion plan to acceptable civilian funding sources. But faculty opposition to any limits on research remains strong. David Barrington, a professor of computer and information science, says that his department "would cease to exist" without military funding.

The University of California's Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, a nuclear weapons research facility, has established a department to plan the transition from military to civilian projects. Proposed research includes global warming and urban pollution, as well as more traditional high-tech pursuits in communications, space exploration, and nuclear energy.

The lab's days with the university may be numbered. University of California students, faculty, and staff are exerting pressure on the school to sever its relationship with the Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos laboratories. Proposition 2, a student initiative at UC-Berkeley calling for the university to cut its ties to the labs, won by almost 60 percent in April. Throughout the UC system, lab severance referenda have won support by

a majority of students and faculty. The UC Board of Regents is expected to vote this summer on continued affiliation with the labs.

Several groups are developing resources on military research conversion. To help campus and community peace activists restructure university military and corporate investments, UMass's PSRU has launched the National Investment/Divestment Project. In June, the Ploughshares Fund and the Calvert Social Investment Fund will publish the *Countdown on Military Research and Development*. In Boston, Science for the People has compiled a conversion guide and is working with scientists from Harvard, MIT, and local industries to help university-based researchers and activists in their conversion efforts. Says SFTP's director, Lisa Greber, "Scientists have been soldiers long enough."

FALSE START

For three years, American and Soviet leaders have trumpeted the coming of START—the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty—as a 30 to 50 percent *reduction* in nuclear weapons. That would be the first time that strategic weapons, which are generally intercontinental in range, were cut by a bilateral accord. Now, however, reports filtering out from the negotiations indicate that the current plan might not reduce U.S. weapons at all.

Part of the ruse has long been public. Negotiators had been counting each strategic bomber as one nuclear

weapon, rather than including all the bombs and short-range missiles each is capable of carrying. But the total numbers now coming to light paint an even bleaker picture of what the treaty will do.

R. Jeffrey Smith, in the April 3 edition of the *Washington Post*, claims the near-completed agreement will "allow U.S. weapons deployments roughly 15 percent greater than those in place" when the START talks began in 1982. "Virtually none of the U.S. strategic weapons produced during the last decade of intensive modernization must be eliminated under the treaty."

According to Smith's analysis, the United States can actually expand its arsenal slightly from where it was in 1982, from 12,341 nu-

clear weapons to 12,363. The Soviet Union, would be reducing its arsenal by about 30 percent from its 1982 level, most of the cuts coming in ICBMs and SLBMs.

The numbers in the *Post* are not undisputed. "If the Soviets use the counting rules the way the U.S. does, their total could be higher," says Dan Hirsch of the Los Angeles-based Committee to Bridge the Gap. "It depends on how you count the load in the bombers. For instance, typical loading of the B-1 bomber is 16, whereas it can hold as many as 38 bombs," Hirsch explains. "Using the typical load, our count for U.S. warheads under START is 10,942. At full capacity, it could go as high as 14,828."

The lower number would represent a cut of 9 to 10

percent from the current arsenal, far short of what was advertised. "Reagan initiated START, promising it would reduce nuclear weapons, in response to the freeze campaign," says Hirsch. "If we had a freeze then, however, the arsenal would be smaller than what the actual START treaty will produce."

Modernization of weapons will not be constrained in the accord, underscoring Secretary of State James Baker's comment last October: "Without the START negotiations, the domestic consensus needed to support essential modernization programs—not only mobile ICBMs, but the B-2, Trident, and SDI—would be difficult to sustain."

A positive note is struck by William Arkin of *Greenpeace*:

"The verification process in START is a monumental step forward. It's a step toward getting rid of all of them."

According to George Bunn, however, a former U.S. negotiator now at Stanford University, deep cuts are not on the table because of "pressure on the U.S. side from the targeting committee. The commander of the Strategic Air Command said that SAC needs 10,000 warheads to cover all their targets or they won't support the treaty," and ratification is unlikely without an okay from the military. "It raises the question," Bunn says, "about whether you can ever go below 10,000 warheads. The White House will have to give different guidance for us to get the kind of cuts Reagan and Gorbachev promised."

B-2 DOOMED?

A consensus to cut the B-2 bomber from the U.S. arsenal is growing, led by arms control advocates in Washington, D.C.

The B-2 "stealth" bomber, successor to the B-1 and B-52 bombers that can reach the Soviet Union to deliver nuclear bombs, has been under attack by the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) for years. Now Washington officials are coming round to the same view.

Senators William Cohen of Maine and John McCain of Arizona, both Republicans, publicly called on President Bush to double the administration's proposed reductions in Pentagon spending, with the B-2 as a primary candidate for cuts. Cohen had earlier endorsed a study by UCS that asserts the

plane will not fulfill its strategic mission and could cost \$155 billion for a fleet of 132 aircraft—more than double the Pentagon's estimate.

UCS's Michael Brower, a physicist and author of the study, had also appeared on CBS's *60 Minutes* in March to decry the program. Brower was one of the first analysts in Washington to make the case against the B-2 in a May 1988 *New York Times* op-ed article.

The battle has been joined by a number of other groups. Michelle Robinson of the Council for a Livable World says that "this is a high-profile, high-priority issue for our community." She includes Physicians for Social Responsibility and Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament as other major opponents. UCS

and the Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control will take the lead in grassroots lobbying.

The prospects for defeating the B-2 have never been better. Robinson reports that a House amendment to stop B-2 procurement, sponsored by John Kasich (R-OH), Ron Dellums (D-CA), and John Roland (R-CT), has 140 cosponsors. The amendment would essentially halt the program after 15 B-2s—already authorized and paid for—have been built. A similar bill in the Senate, introduced by Alan Cranston (D-CA) and Patrick Leahy (D-VT), has 13 cosponsors.

The National Security News Service, a media-relations operation started this year by the Council for a Livable World, scored a small

coup when Senator Cranston cited on the Senate floor its telling comparison: the B-2 was literally worth its weight in 18-karat gold. The stealth bomber, if fully procured, would cost more than all the gold in Fort Knox.

"The revelations about cost have been the main factor in changing the mood of Congress," says Robinson. "More than 20 House members who supported the B-2 last year have come over to our side. I think we have the momentum to pass this in the House." The Senate vote, she says, depends greatly on the position of Armed Services Committee chair Sam Nunn (D-GA), who is still uncommitted.

Floor debate on the program is expected to commence in July.

SEABROOK SETBACKS

By Harvey Wasserman

The Seabrook nuclear power plant, the focus of 15 years of civil disobedience and legal maneuvering by antinuclear foes, was granted a full-power operating license on March 1. It then passed a key judicial hurdle in the U.S. Court of Appeals. But opponents have enlisted powerful congressional allies with a new study documenting hundreds of safety flaws.

Rep. Peter Kostmayer (D-PA) opened hearings in mid-March that again revealed the arrogance of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). Kostmayer has had acrid exchanges with NRC chair Kenneth Carr over Seabrook, and has berated the NRC for changing licensing procedures to accommodate the needs of the nuclear industry. Since 1984, the NRC has changed or ignored its own rules seven times to

expedite the Seabrook license, usually over inadequate plans for evacuation. Indeed, last year it overruled its own Atomic Safety and Licensing Appeals Board.

Kostmayer charged that Carr has repeatedly given "incomplete, and possibly misleading" answers to inquiries about construction flaws and other problems at the site. In an angry exchange with Rep. Edward Markey (D-MA), Carr asserted "there was no need" for him to read reports of the industry-backed Institute of Nuclear Power Operations, which has often questioned the quality of construction at Seabrook.

The hearings were prompted in part by a two-year investigation by the Employee's Legal Project in Massachusetts, which has uncovered numerous safety problems by interviewing some 200 former Seabrook plant workers. The probe was initiated by project director Sharon Tracy when she began hearing reports of ram-



phant drug and alcohol abuse, falsification of documents, shoddy work, and counterfeit parts at the site.

"I had guys telling me they worked on key welds while under the influence of LSD," says Tracy. "They told me the acid made the colors really far out."

The project hired former NRC inspector Scott Schum to debrief the whistleblowers and scour plant construction documents. A vice-president of the Quality Technol-

ogy Corporation of Lebo, Kansas, Schum is pronuclear and a veteran of the nuclear navy. His \$80,000 investigation yielded a 750-page report revealing numerous safety violations. Among the findings of Schum's research and related investigations: substandard components used throughout the plant (prompting NRC to lower requirements), improper support for a key coolant pump, and missing or falsified documentation of quality assurance and control inspections. Schum charges that Seabrook got "kid glove" treatment from the NRC.

"The NRC's objective was to get Seabrook licensed and the process was managed to achieve that end," Sen. Gordon Humphrey (R-NH) told the Kostmayer panel. "The Commission appears to have determined in advance that it was going to license Seabrook irrespective of the facts, and much of that which followed was simply window-dressing." NRC, Humphrey

CLIPS

Save the U.N.! The **Alliance for Our Common Future** is initiating a congressional write-in campaign to demand full payment of U.S. dues to the United Nations and a plan to pay arrearages of \$282 million. In 1985, the Reagan administration made a unilateral 50 percent cut in its dues payment to pressure the United Nations to toe its line....The **National Security Archive**, set up by a group of investigative reporters to serve as a nonprofit publisher and library of government documents on foreign policy and national security, won the right to obtain information under the Freedom of Information Act without paying exorbitant fees. The Supreme Court refused to hear the Bush administration's appeal of a lower court ruling in the archive's favor. The archive has published a 678-page chronology of the Iran-contra affair and a two-volume document on U.S. policy towards El Salvador. No wonder Bush doesn't want that information to be free....The **Chernobyl** disaster goes on. Four years after the nuclear accident, the government announced the evacuation of 14,000 more people from an area 30 miles outside the site of the damaged nuclear reactor. About 190,000 people have been moved out already. Radiation monitoring has shown that a much wider area around the plant is affected than the 12.4 million acres originally thought to be contaminated. Radioactive dust accumulations in the 20-mile danger zone surrounding the plant will take decades to remove, and

a new containment structure must be built, at a cost of 170-215 billion rubles. Tens of thousands of Soviets marched through Kiev on the fourth anniversary of the disaster to protest the government's handling of the situation....Lois Gibbs is fighting **Love Canal** again. She was among the 239 families evacuated in 1978 from homes built near the site of Occidental Petroleum's toxic waste dump in Niagara Falls, New York. State and federal agencies plan to resettle the area, even though the state's health department won't verify that it's safe to live there....**Earth Day Wall Street Action** is exposing corporate polluters who have jumped on the Earth Day bandwagon. Monsanto (maker of pesticides and nuclear weapons detonators), British Petroleum America and ARCO (exploiters of Alaska's North Slope, who are fighting to open up more Alaskan wilderness to the oil industry), Peabody Coal (strip miner in Arizona), and McDonald's (producer of styrofoam fast-food containers) are among the companies that donated to local Earth Day activities around the country in an effort to improve their public image rather than their production practices....**Mobay Corporation** and **Occidental Chemical**, the only U.S. manufacturers of thionyl chloride, have refused to sell the poison-gas agent to the U.S. Army, citing internal policies against collaboration in chemical weapons production. The Bush administration is considering a legal suit against the companies.

charged, was willing "to bully those who stood in the way," actions that "would have warmed the heart of Mussolini."

Harvey Wasserman, a longtime antinuclear activist, is author of Harvey Wasserman's History of the United States.

KEEPING UP THE PRESSURE AGAINST EL SALVADOR

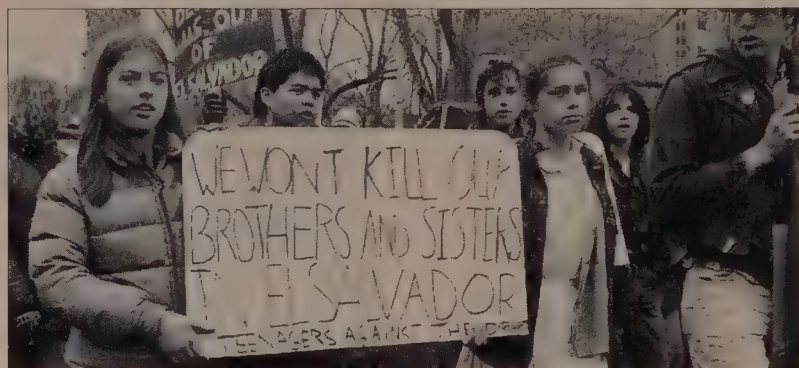
While media coverage of El Salvador's war has diminished in the last several months, human rights, religious, and labor activists are keeping up the pressure on Congress to cut aid to El Salvador. They are also demanding that the Bush administration reveal information about the role of U.S. military advisors in the training of the Salvadoran troops responsible for killing six Jesuit priests and two women at the Central American University in El Salvador last November.

The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights has been following the case of the murdered Jesuits. Seven Salvadoran members of a commando unit of the Atlacatl Battalion have been formally charged in connection with the killings. It is unlikely that the highest-ranking officer charged in the murders, Colonel Benavides, will be tried or convicted.

Members of the battalion have claimed that they were being trained by Americans at Atlacatl headquarters for several days just prior to the murders. The director of the Salvadoran Special Investiga-

tive Unit that probed the case told the Lawyers Committee that the troops charged with the Jesuit murders were par-

for an end to U.S. military aid. "We were surprised at how many people were not only aware of the situation in



ticipating in a training course at Atlacatl headquarters just before the killings. The Lawyers Committee has asked defense secretary Richard Cheney to confirm the U.S. military's involvement. Once again, U.S. forces appear to be guilty of training Salvadoran military death squads.

Bill Spencer of the Central America Working Group, which coordinates the lobbying efforts of 45 faith-based human-rights groups, says they're bracing for a legislative battle. Meetings between Secretary of State James Baker and key legislators indicate that aid to El Salvador may be tacked on to a bill allocating \$420 million in aid for Panama and \$300 million for Nicaragua. Bush wants to continue military aid to El Salvador, but may support a compromise. Currently, four bills would cut that aid. In the Senate, John Kerry's (D-MA) bill is the strongest. It would end all but humanitarian assistance until the government opens peace negotiations with the FMLN opposition and punishes the Jesuits' killers.

This spring, petition campaigns, town meeting resolutions, and local initiatives across the United States called

El Salvador, but adamant in their beliefs that the United States should not be sending military assistance to that government," says Carol Budi

ANOTHER PANAMA VICTIM: ENVIRONMENT

By Jane F. McAlevey

In the aftermath of the U.S. invasion of Panama last December, a new ecological disaster is brewing. During the invasion, U.S. planes bombed Panama City, destroying homes and forcing more than 30,000 Panamanians to flee the capital. As a direct consequence, these newly homeless people are rapidly moving into the forests surrounding the city. Panama's minister for natural resources, Stanley Heckendon, reports, "Since January, more than 3,000 acres of forest per day from the protected park areas have been destroyed." At the current rate, 175,000 acres of pristine forests will be destroyed this summer.

Additionally, displaced people are setting up makeshift homes in the already-strained Panama Canal watershed area. The canal, plagued by environmental

Smith of the Coalition for Central America in Pullman, Washington, who organized a 3,000-signature petition drive against military aid. Petitioners urged their representative, House Speaker Thomas Foley, to resist any compromise suggested by the Bush administration.

Activists believe that an end to military aid would send the message to El Salvador's government that the United States supports a political rather than military solution to their civil war. Salvadoran government and FMLN guerilla leaders have agreed to conduct peace talks under U.N. mediation in Geneva.

problems caused by years of deforestation along its banks, has been silting up, making passage for some large cargo ships difficult or impossible. Heckendon argues that the new threat to the canal watershed not only endangers Panama's ecology, but the economic future of the country as well.

On a trip to Washington, D.C., in mid-February, Heckendon met with U.S. environmental groups and members of Congress. Some of the groups called upon Congress for new communications and transportation equipment, and more money for park rangers for Panama. A briefing document sent to Congress by the Nature Conservancy the day after the meeting with Heckendon began, "Now that democracy has been restored to Panama..."

Once again, some of the

largest environmental groups in the United States have opted to follow U.S. interventionist policy without a blink. More disturbing are the groups' suggestions to create additional policelike park patrols to discourage settlement. Why don't they address the cause of the displacement rather than the symptom? Clearly, what is needed is a rebuilding of the communities destroyed by the U.S. invasion. To blame the victims of war by ignoring and further displacing refugees is to exacerbate the destruction of the environment these U.S. groups are

supposed to be helping.

An environmentalist's response must be a call for immediate U.S. aid to restore housing, along with money for protection of park lands. The war refugees have little choice but to invade the parks in an effort to survive. Lasting environmental protection can only occur alongside peace, social justice, and true democracy. How often have we seen real democracy come from a U.S. military invasion?

Jane F. McAleve works with the Environmental Project on Central America, at Earth Island Institute, San Francisco.

WEAPONS PLANTS UPS AND DOWNS

Since activists forced policy and opinion leaders to recognize the scandals at the nation's 17 nuclear weapons production facilities, the action has been fast and furious. An update:

- A broad coalition of activists in Idaho won a major victory when the Bush administration decided not to fund a plutonium plant in Idaho. The Special Isotope Separation (SIS) facility, intended to process fissile material for nuclear weapons, was first proposed for Idaho in 1986, stirring a new level of activism by the Snake River Alliance, Palouse-Clearwater Environmental Institute, and many others in the state. Local efforts were aided by national groups such as Greenpeace, SANE/FREEZE, and the Environmental Policy Institute.

Idahoans particularly cite the Natural Resources Defense Council's pivotal sup-

port of their work. In fact, Liz Paul of Snake River Alliance and NRDC were featured in a March *New York Times Magazine* article about the victory. SIS was defeated by activists' ability to educate local residents about its role in the arms race and its environmental and safety hazards. One negative side effect of the victory: Liz Paul is leaving Snake River Alliance.

- Prompted by sharp criticism over the Department of Energy's role as arbiter of the health impacts of the weapons plants it manages, DOE secretary James D. Watkins in late March asked the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) to be responsible for radiation-related health research. In public hearings, a special panel convened by Watkins last year found broad discontent at the plant sites and charges of cover-ups by DOE officials. An epidemiologist at DOE's Los Alamos National Lab, for example, charged that he was pressured to suppress findings that

showed unexpectedly high cancer rates at the Rocky Flats plutonium processing plant near Denver.

DOE has also kept secret data on the effects of radiation on 600,000 plant workers since the 1940s. This comes on the heels of a National Academy of Sciences study, released last winter, showing that the risks from low-level radiation is four times greater than was previously believed. Watkins, pressured by a lawsuit filed by the Three Mile Island Public Health Fund in Pennsylvania, vows that DOE will release the records in July.

DOE's shift of health research to HHS, an idea developed by Sen. Tim Wirth (D-CO), does not satisfy the Energy Research Foundation (ERF), a watchdog group near the Savannah River plant in South Carolina. The DOE-HHS agreement, says researcher Tim Connor, "does not provide long-term assurances that DOE will not continue to influence the outcome of studies." ERF also insists on greater worker and community input into future health studies. There are still 100,000 workers at the 17 facilities.

- On August 6, 1989, a demonstration of 800 people at the Oak Ridge Nuclear Component Plant near Knoxville, Tennessee, resulted in arrests of 29 protesters. Two of those, Bonnie Kendrick and Kathy Brown, will be tried for trespassing in June. Kendrick and Brown, members of the Oak Ridge Environmental Peace Alliance, intend to use the trial to challenge the U.S. military policies that result in bomb factories like Oak Ridge. Adm. Gene La Rocque (USN-ret.), among

other experts, is expected to testify.

- Some 62 pounds of plutonium—enough for seven nuclear bombs—have been lost in the air ducts at the Rocky Flats plant, according to information released by the Environmental Defense Fund in Boulder, Colorado, and confirmed by DOE. The scandal-ridden plant, which made triggers for nuclear bombs until it was closed last December, lost the plutonium over 30 years. Federal investigators insist that it poses no hazard to Colorado residents. But diversion to would-be nuclear weapons states cannot be ruled out, nor, technically, could a nuclear reaction and explosion, though DOE says there "is no evidence" for either possibility.

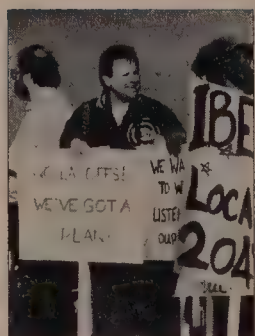
- But before you feel too safe, consider the early spring news from the Hanford nuclear reservation. A DOE study at the contaminated Washington state site noted that tanks storing high-level nuclear waste from 40 years of plutonium processing there could explode. Yes, *explode*. Hydrogen gas is building up inside 20 of Hanford's 169 storage tanks, a result of decay of material put into the tanks in the 1970s to recover strontium 90. Such an explosion is widely believed to have occurred in the USSR in 1957, leaving hundreds dead and 30 villages permanently evacuated, according to the CIA. The Hanford problem came to light in 1977, and methods to reduce the gas for the last six years have failed. "We've taken every precaution we can think of," says a DOE official, "but I can't give you an absolute guarantee." Thanks.



Pax

Economica

Strategies for Conversion



HOW TO CLAIM

THE PEACE

DIVIDEND FOR A

PEACE ECONOMY

President Bush says it doesn't exist. Congressional Democrats counsel patience, that it will appear eventually. But growing numbers of Americans are demanding the fruits of the Cold War's demise—deep cuts in military spending and conversion of the defense industry to civilian uses. Whether we call it a "peace dividend" or "war reparations" or "economic conversion," a shift in the nation's priorities is already underway. But it is aimless and sluggish both.

How soon, and how effortlessly, can the U.S. economy be retooled? The United States has faced similar challenges before, fitfully responding to the end of World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. In the late 1940s, however, pent-up consumer demand and America's dominant economic position globally eased the transition. In the latter two cases, Cold War spending remained high.

The 1990s offer a chance to disassemble the military-industrial complex and channel the savings into sorely needed public investments. But the way to achieve those ambitious goals is not self-evident. The peace dividend, for example, may be paid out very slowly, and even then may be diverted into tax cuts or deficit reduction. The \$150 billion or more that readily can be cut from the \$300 billion military budget should go to education, housing, health care, and other victims of the Cold War—needed investments that will also create employment and economic growth.

How, and how quickly, that money is spent will affect how readily the military economy can be converted. The 6.5 million jobs produced by military spending are already disappearing. Conversion strategies are aimed at job creation, a key goal that not only aids displaced workers and hard-hit communities, but gives courage to members of Congress who are faced with the loss of military dollars in their districts. Thus, the peace dividend and successful conversion are intimately linked—one feeds upon the other.

Nuclear Times asked three analysts actively engaged in conversion efforts to describe three dimensions of the task facing us.

Building National Consensus

By Jonathan Feldman
and Miriam Pemberton

The Cold War is over, but the institutions of the Cold War remain firmly in place. This is the central contradiction and opportunity for the peace movement and its allies. Thousands of workers tied to military industry have lost their jobs. Fears of economic disruption in military-dependent communities are growing. The easing of Cold War tensions has opened up the question of seriously cutting the military budget and spending monies saved on pressing civilian needs. As a result, the issue of converting to a peace economy is now on the political front burner.

A number of strategies are needed to build a national consensus for conversion. Public pressure and local initiatives are being created through a variety of measures. But national legislation is pivotal. States and municipalities are constrained by the financial scale of conversion, whereas the federal government—through the peace dividend—can invest in conversion and provide other incentives. There are questions about the legal authority that state and local governments have over federal facilities and contractors. And building an effective political coalition—that would, for example, include international trade unions—can only be achieved on a national scale, with national legislation as its goal.

House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt is currently trying to put together a legislative package on conversion to be adopted by the House Democratic leadership. "What we're trying to stress is that we're in a whole new ballgame," one of his aides told the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. "Never before, at least in the last two decades, have we had a national consensus that we're going to have defense conversion. And Gephardt's interest means that this issue will go on the fast track."

Gephardt has formed a task force of House Democrats in support of economic conversion. The Senate has its own counterpart, which is comprised of 12 senators, five of whom are members of the Armed Services Committee. The senators will look at long-term questions such as the relationship between conversion and productivity, research and development, rebuilding the infrastructure, and economic dislocation in military-dependent communities.

Among the current legislative proposals, H.R. 101, the Defense Economic Adjustment Act, sponsored by Rep. Ted Weiss (D-NY), adheres most closely to the criteria for sound conversion policy. It is acquiring new congressional cosponsors at an unprecedented pace; the number is currently at a high of 68. There has been an explosion of legislative activity on conversion of late, however, and the Weiss bill may have to be reconciled with others.

Gephardt met in November with Weiss and the principal sponsors of an alternative bill to discuss compromise language. Following the meeting, according to an account in *Defense News*, he and the other congressional supporters of conversion wrote to Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney, asking him for a detailed account of how the Pentagon plans to cushion the effects of military cuts on defense workers.

Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D-CT), sponsor of one of the bills with Rep. Nicholas Mavroules (D-MA), said that although the Pentagon is on record opposing conversion legislation, current prospects for base closings, defense cuts, and arms control agreements make passage in this session more likely.

The Gejdenson-Mavroules proposal would encourage the voluntary conversion efforts of communities, unions, and companies with the carrot of federal grants. The Weiss bill would require defense contractors with more than 100 workers to submit conversion plans as a condition of their contracts. Weiss sees compromise between the two bills as a good possibility. In the Senate, Claiborne Pell has sponsored a bill (S. 2097) that would provide economic adjustment assistance to local communities affected by the curtailment or cancellation of defense contracts and military base closures.

While increased press attention and legislative activity have publicized the need for conversion, problems exist in how the press and Congress as a whole have articulated the economic adjustment problem. In deference to the arms contractors, most legislation does not include a provision for workers' participation in conversion planning. Only Weiss's legislation mandates the creation of alternative use committees comprised half of management and half of labor. This sharing of responsibility and authority is designed to assure not only a maximum flow of ideas, but also responsibility to both the administrators and to the working people of the converting factory, laboratory, or base. In Weiss's bill, the alternative use committee will be given access to whatever data and facilities are required to fulfill this function.

Congress also has been resistant to implement "blueprint-ready" conversion plans. It makes little sense to delay planning for economic conversion until contracts have been cancelled or seriously reduced. Considerable time is required for planning alternative use of buildings, equipment, and people. A period of two years is the time allotment usually required for these planning functions.

In order to confront congressional resistance to comprehensive conversion legislation, a strong movement must be built that links conversion to new constituencies that have a stake in the post-Cold War economy.

According to a *New York Times* poll published in January, three out of four citizens say they want the peace dividend to be spent to fight domestic problems rather than to cut taxes or close the budget deficit. A more recent survey also shows strong support for public investment (see Figure 1). But the Bush administration plans to reduce the budget deficit by making cuts in domestic programs like housing, transportation, and Medicaid. About half of \$36.5 billion in cuts would come from these sources; cutbacks in the military would produce only \$6 billion, with the balance coming from new revenue.

The peace dividend is now on the table because unproductive military spending has led to large-scale budget

and trade deficits in both superpowers that drain resources from productive civilian investment. Today, the administration appears to be between a rock and a hard place. Serious military budget cuts will alienate a core constituency for the Republican Party. Raising taxes to pay for deficit reduction will alienate Reagan Democrats. Spending the peace dividend on social programs will bolster progressive constituencies that owe little allegiance to Bush.

By spending the peace dividend on the budget deficit, Bush solidifies his support for financial interests and maintains the politics of scarcity that have divided the progressive forces for the last decade. The key to breaking this deadlock is to support strategies that will release the peace dividend.

As a result, groups seeking a piece of the peace dividend have a common interest in joining forces with advocates supporting conversion. One such effort was convened by the National Commission for Economic Conversion and Disarmament. Working with Jobs with Peace, SANE/FREEZE, and many local peace groups, it held a national town

meeting on May 2. The theme, "The U.S. After the Cold War: Claiming the Peace Dividend," brought together trade unions, student groups, peace organizations and professional associations in more than 70 cities and towns. The national town meeting in Washington, D.C., featured political leaders such as George McGovern and Jesse Jackson and was broadcast live on dozens of radio stations.

More such national consensus-building must be done in the coming months, both to raise the public's demands for public investment of the peace dividend, and to move Congress to adopt conversion legislation that responds to labor, environmental, and disarmament concerns.

Jonathan Feldman is program director at the National Commission for Economic Conversion and Disarmament in Washington, D.C., and author of Universities in the Business of Repression. Miriam Pemberton is editor of the Commission's international newsletter on conversion and disarmament, The New Economy.

Reversing the Impact of Pentagon Cuts

By John Tepper Marlin

The dramatic reduction in the Soviet military threat has produced a "seismic shift" in our fear of attack, and offers a chance in a lifetime to cut defense spending in line with new international realities.

Many communities properly ask how their economies will be affected. As bases are closed and weapons systems are cancelled, those with heavy dependence on the military may feel the economic equivalent of earthquake tremors.

It seems fair to make resources available for economic adjustment in the most vulnerable and affected communities. Some resources could be provided by defense contractors and by the communities and states in which affected plants are located. But the federal government could play an important role in planning for and assisting with the transition.

Vulnerability to cuts in defense spending in a state or locality may be measured by a combination of (1) the proportion of income derived from military facilities or contracts, and (2) community economic strength as measured by, for example, the unemployment rate. The impact of cuts in defense procurement on the area may be measured by the ratio of the cuts to total contracts.

Company military dependence may be calculated by looking at defense income as a percentage of total income. Of the top 12 military contractors, four (General Dynamics, General Motors-Hughes, Grumman, and Lockheed) derived four-fifths or more of their 1988 income from defense contracts; two (Martin Marietta and McDonnell Douglas) derived two-thirds from defense; and the other six derived less than

THE PUBLIC SPEAKS:

HOW TO SPEND THE PEACE DIVIDEND



Figure 1. Public preferences for funding nonmilitary programs

Between February 19 and March 2, 1990, one thousand adult Americans were interviewed. Among other questions, they were asked about military spending. Forty-four percent said they want to cut spending, and 8 percent want to increase it. Forty-nine percent said military spending should be kept about the same, and 2 percent weren't sure. When the 51 percent in the latter two groups were asked to choose between spending more or spending less on the military, 54 percent chose cuts and 34 percent chose increases. Overall, then, 69 percent were willing to reduce military spending.

About three-quarters of that latter group would spend at least some of the savings from military cuts on other federal programs. Of those (44% overall) who wish to reinvest in nonmilitary programs, their preferences are shown above.

Source: Americans Talk Security

half from defense. Compared with 1985, seven of the 12 contractors reduced their defense dependence, while four had become more dependent.

State military dependence may be measured as the percent of state income from military sources. The states most dependent on (those deriving eight percent or more of their income from) military contracts in 1989 were Alaska, California, Hawaii, Maryland, Mississippi, Virginia, and Washington.

The most likely cuts in Department of Defense (DOD) procurement spending are those the Bush administration proposed in January, labeled "Cheney Cuts." Others have looked at various items in the defense budget for reduction or elimination. Cuts have been recommended by William Kaufmann of the Brookings Institution and by the Defense Study Task Force of the Committee for National Security and Defense Budget Project. Still others have been predicted by Washington Analysis Corporation. Our data search yielded \$5.6 billion in Cheney Cuts and \$11.6 billion in other cuts in prime contracts for 13 weapons systems, based on fiscal year 1988 data.

Table 1 shows the 10 states we found most affected by the Cheney Cuts, using a "misery index" calculated as the product of the state's vulnerability index and its percent of defense contracts at risk from the cuts.

Table 2 shows the 10 states most affected by other possible cuts, also using the misery index calculation.

The two tables do not include information on two important weapons systems, the V-22 Osprey and the B-2 bomber. The V-22 Osprey—an aircraft Cheney wants to cut but Congress has kept alive—was in a research and development phase in 1988 and therefore does not show up in our database. A Boeing official did tell us the states with the most prime contracts in FY 1990. The top five are Texas, Pennsylvania, New York, California, and Georgia. Of 88 V-22 subcontractors identified, 54 are receiving more than \$1 million.

The B-2 bomber is widely considered as too costly. Because much B-2 information is classified, tracing contracts is difficult. We do know that the major contractor is Northrop, based in Los Angeles, and cancellation would

most affect five states: California, Washington, Texas, New York, and Ohio.

Local dependence on the military is a factor in predicting the job impact of defense cuts. Job losses will depend on the military dependence of individual companies in the area, and the area's overall military dependence and its economic and infrastructure strength. But many states and localities have staved off some of the impact by effectively mobilizing resources for new productive economic enterprises and activities.

How will defense firms and their communities react to losses of DOD contracts? Some contractors are able to adjust to cuts without special assistance from their community. In a few cases, contract cancellation benefits may help.

Some options open to companies are more socially desirable than others, however. Less desirable options for companies are those that make no provision for employee adjustment or that serve to increase global tensions. Three such options are:

Layoffs. Usually the first action taken by a contractor who receives a cutback notice, layoffs permit contractors to continue operating with smaller incomes, but put the burden of adjustment entirely on employees. An example of this approach is Grumman Aerospace in Bethpage, N.Y., which may cut as many as 5,000 employees.

Diversifying within military work. Many companies in the 1970s filled the void left from DOD cuts by making arms for the third world—not a globally desirable form of diversification.

Selling the defense business or plant. This may be good for a community's industry if it is converted to other use and provides prime space for new manufacturing or other purposes. But dismantling a plant or a company means the employees will be out of work and may lose accumulated benefits.

More desirable options take into account the future of the employees, and aim to reduce rather than increase global tensions. Four such options are:

PENTAGON CUTS: MOST AFFECTED STATES

Table 1: Ten States Most Affected by "Cheney Cuts"

State (Vulnerability Index)*	Cuts as % of DOD Contracts	Defense Cut Misery Index**
Arizona (10.8)	36.3	392
Missouri (14.0)	22.4	314
Ohio (12.6)	17.1	216
Tennessee (9.6)	16.3	157
New York (11.7)	12.3	144
Michigan (13.3)	8.6	114
Vermont (9.8)	9.2	91
Connecticut (13.5)	6.7	90
Illinois (10.9)	5.6	62
Florida (11.6)	3.8	45

Table 2: Ten States Most Affected By "Other Cuts"

State (Vulnerability Index)*	Cuts as % of DOD Contracts	Defense Cut Misery Index**
Missouri (14.0)	34.8	487
Texas (11.4)	28.0	319
Maine (12.1)	16.3	198
Connecticut (13.5)	14.6	197
New Jersey (10.3)	19.0	196
Arizona (10.8)	18.0	194
Massachusetts (12.2)	14.6	179
Virginia (15.4)	10.9	168
Louisiana (12.6)	12.7	160
Maryland (12.8)	10.8	138

*1989 defense dependence (%) plus January 1990 unemployment (% of labor force).

**Vulnerability Index multiplied by second column.

Worker adjustment programs. These enable contractors to soften the blow to employees by offering transitional education, training, and outplacement programs. Involving the employees can also assist in the company's adjustment. Good examples are General Motors-Hughes paying employees to take courses and Rockwell's Palmdale, California, facility, which launched an early, well-coordinated marketing program and brought in four companies to pick up some of the laid-off employees.

Selling the plant to employees. Such a sale can be in whole or in part. Doing this through an Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP) can be good for the company and also for the employees. Government incentives for this purpose are already in place, and some states like New York encourage ESOP growth. ESOPs develop incentives for

worker productivity, don't require government outlays, and provide adequate time to install competent management.

Diversifying into commercial work. This can be difficult because defense-oriented employees don't necessarily adjust quickly to doing commercial work. Boeing, for example, has historically found it easier moving people from commercial aerospace to military contracts than the other way around. Commercial work requires a strong redirection of sales efforts and a heightened consciousness of cost. But many companies have managed it, including Frisby Airborne, which started selling its hydraulic equipment to commercial airplane manufacturers. Another example is Bell Industries, a \$500 million company based in Los Angeles, which went from 40 percent military work 15 years ago to 4 percent military today.

Diversifying into arms control work. This could be a growth industry when the CFE and START treaties are signed. This work entails substantial photographic, communications, and on-site components.

The best place to begin the transition to peaceful production is in the communities most vulnerable to, and affected by, defense cuts. While state and local adjustment programs may suffice in many areas, in the most vulnerable and affected states, federal assistance is an ethical, economic, and political imperative.

John Tepper Marlin is codirector of the MacArthur Foundation Productive Peace Project of the Council on Economic Priorities. This is adapted from testimony before the Joint Economic Committee, March 20, 1990.

Local Planning in Minnesota

By Mel Duncan

Who will make the decisions about converting the U.S. economy from military to civilian production? This is one of the key questions in the "peace dividend" debate.

Weapons makers lobbied hard to influence our nation's military spending, and they reaped the profits from the military buildup—all of which, of course, was paid by the taxpayers. Now, after years of benefiting from the public's largesse, they indignantly claim that the public no longer has a role in their business. Yet the public must again pick up the tab, this time for the social and economic costs of massive layoffs.

That is the unacceptable response from the boardroom. In Minnesota, workers, peace activists, and local elected officials are creating another answer. They propose a broad range of alternative uses for the plants, equipment, and workers who have depended on Pentagon spending for years.

The situation in Minnesota is dire. Honeywell, Unisys, Control Data, and FMC hold 80 percent of prime military

contracts in the state. All have had major layoffs—there was a 14 percent drop in contracts from 1987 to 1988—and more will follow. That the state's military dependency lies in our high technology sectors compounds the damage. High tech was supposed to be the engine that drove Minnesota's economy into the twenty-first century, yet key high-tech industries are addicted to the diminishing Pentagon fix.

The Unisys plant in St. Paul, which makes shipboard computer systems for the U.S. Navy, is a vivid illustration of the problem and possible solutions. Some 5,000 workers have been laid off since 1986, a significant portion of those resulting from Pentagon cuts. Faced with another layoff, Local 2047 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) went to the Minnesota Economic Conversion Task Force in January 1989 for help.

The task force was formed in late 1985 in response to grassroots pressure. Appointed by the state commissioner of jobs and training, the group includes representatives of labor (including the unions at the three largest

military contractors), small business, peace groups, state agencies, and academics and elected officials. They have examined the state's military dependency and proposed various remedies.

With the help of the task force, the IBEW delegation formed the Unisys Alternative Use Committee. Borrowing from other conversion efforts in Europe and the United States, they surveyed workers to assess skills and experience, and to gather alternative product ideas. "These people have put a lot of years into training and education," says Mona Ott, business agent for Local 2047. "They can do anything that's high tech." Over 40 products with current skills and equipment were identified by the workers.

In May 1989, a group of workers sat down with Amory Lovins of the Rocky Mountain Institute. Renowned for his work on energy conservation, Lovins brought a suitcase full of prototypes of energy-efficiency technologies. The workers reviewed fluorescent lighting ballasts and other devices, convinced they could produce some of them with little or no change in their work envi-

ronment. The encounter demonstrated the positive connections that conversion planning creates.

The previous month, a delegation of public and labor officials met with Unisys managers. Led by the chair of the task force, state representative Karen Clark, the group made two requests of Unisys: cooperate with the alternative use planning process, and call a moratorium on layoffs for six months while alternative products are explored. The company rejected both requests. In a letter to Clark, a Unisys vice president cited the competitive demands of high-tech markets and declared that "proposals for alternative use planning do not provide for this needed flexibility or cost control."

Last January, another 150 workers were laid off. As they came off their last shift, they were greeted by 200 supporters, including Governor Rudy Perpich and Mayor Jim Scheibel of St. Paul. "We are finally learning that we don't need to spend a lot of money on military goods. We have transportation and other needs," Mayor Scheibel declared. "We're encouraging Unisys and all other defense companies to open their doors so you can hear these ideas."

Unisys again refused to cooperate with the alternative use effort, which has been refining product ideas. In response, one company official said that Unisys was "not in the business of making shopping carts." Union leader Claudette Munson replies, "While management keeps telling us what a 'good team' we are and how they'll continue to make company prototypes here because we're the best workforce in the country, they won't even listen to what we have to say."

They should. In studying the impact of military spending in Minnesota, the Economic Conversion Task Force calculated the impact of cuts. They found that if the military budget were reduced 20 percent and the funds were reallocated to public investment, the state would gain 9,400 jobs.

The task force's recommendations were integrated into two bills for the 1990 legislature. The first, authored by Clark, would require all major military contractors to establish alternative use committees made up of equal numbers of management, labor, and community

SUCCESS STORIES:

MILITARY BASE CONVERSIONS

A major opportunity for conversion in the 1990s is with military facilities that are being closed. More than 80 were designated for closure last year, and dozens more are likely to follow in the next few years. Congress resists closures, but the record shows that more jobs are created at the facilities after the military has left. Since half the military budget goes to personnel, construction, and related items, pressure to shut bases may pay a particularly large dividend.

Employment effect

93,000 JOBS LOST

138,000 NEW JOBS

New uses of 100 military facilities



Figure 2. Converting military bases, 1961-1986

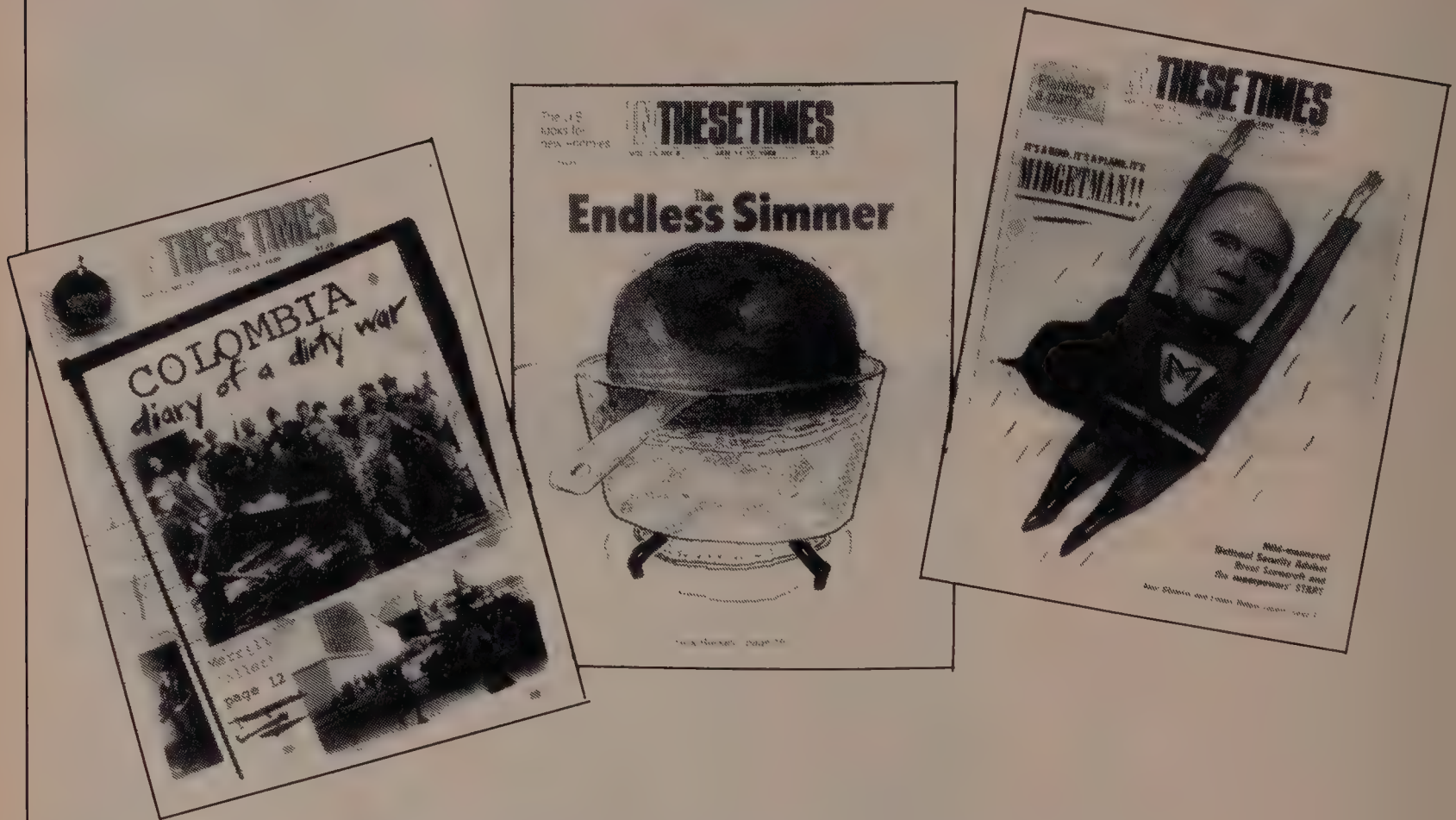
A study by the Defense Department of the closure of 100 military facilities in the United States between 1961 and 1986 shows that civilian employment in nearby communities increased by 44 percent overall. Many facilities were converted to more than one use. Educational institutions were established on 57 former bases, for example, and included 12 four-year colleges and 32 vocational and technical schools, which further boosts the economic health of the affected areas by supplying skilled labor.

The ability of communities to rebound resulted from a combination of factors. They include: strong local leadership and responsiveness, flexible federal assistance programs, and building-by-building reuse of bases by private firms and public agencies. Communities that develop reuse plans before facilities are closed are far better equipped to convert successfully.

Source: Office of Economic Adjustment, U.S. Department of Defense

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representatives. Such committees would prepare plans to reduce dependence on the military through development of alternative products. Companies implementing these plans would receive preferential treatment in state economic development and job training programs. Rep. Andy Dawkins, a task force member, introduced a second bill requiring the state to study military impacts each year.

Defense contractors lobbied fiercely to defeat the bills. In committee testimony they stressed the number of jobs their firms provide in Minnesota and stated that passage of the bills would affect their decisions about whether they would expand operations in the state. Both bills were defeated—Clark's by only three votes.

As the conversion effort in Minnesota progresses, it demonstrates the need for state and local planning and cooperation. The state's task force has done sophisticated economic modeling. IBEW Local 2047 continues to develop alternative product ideas. Dozens of elected officials have been involved in the process. Activists from all quarters have applied pressure on military contractors and state legislators, and have educated the news media and the public about the need to convert.

Most conversion advocates agree that dealing effectively with the problems of military dependency will require federal legislation. But a valuable body of experience is being built in places like St. Paul, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Seattle, Connecticut, and Chicago. This local approach is helpful, not only in building the technical and procedural know-how for conversion, but in broadening political support for a national effort.

What we have found in Minnesota is that the conversion struggle is not just about jobs. Conversion provides the opportunity to challenge corporations to consider social needs when making decisions and doing business, and, most importantly, to discuss what kind of economy we want for our communities. Therein lies the hope for true democratic change.

Mel Duncan is executive director of the Minnesota Jobs with Peace Campaign, which has been a leader in the state's conversion effort.

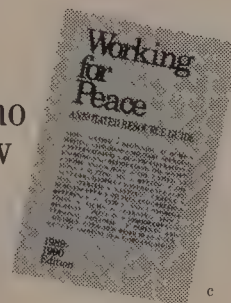


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*Edited and translated by
Richard H. Minear*

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ACTIVISM

I N T H E

Pacific



By Michael Bedford

With reductions in U.S. and Soviet military involvement in Europe, expectations are rising for more peaceful relations in the Pacific region as well. Soviet President Gorbachev has made substantial offers to end the nuclear arms race and defuse superpower tensions in Asia and the Pacific. Last year, the Soviet Union allowed foreign observers on their Pacific warships during naval maneuvers for the first time. The Soviets also announced troop cuts of 200,000 in Asia, permitted foreign access to their previously closed naval base at Vladivostok, and began withdrawing military forces from bases in Vietnam.

In Tokyo, U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney responded to these Soviet initiatives in late February, saying that the United States had no plans to lessen its military presence in Asia and the Pacific beyond a 10-percent troop cut, warning that "if we were to withdraw...a vacuum would quickly develop." Admiral Huntington Hardisty, the commander of U.S. forces in the Pacific, told the Senate Armed Services Committee, "even the entire removal of the Soviet Pacific fleet would not allow the U.S. to cut its Pacific forces." U.S. forces in the Pacific now total over 220,000 active personnel in bases and onboard warships across the region.

Asians and Pacific islanders have suffered more from the nuclear age than any other people. The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the above-ground nuclear tests conducted by the United States, France, and Great Britain have stirred in them a deep suspicion of anything nuclear. From 1945 to 1963 and the signing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty, the United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France exploded 488 known and presumed nuclear devices—mostly in the Pacific. Until 1975, the French conducted 41 aboveground tests at their facilities on Mururoa Atoll in French Polynesia, before moving tests underground. The British tested in Australia and on Christmas Island during 1957 and 1958, before accepting the U.S. offer to move to its Nevada test site.

Opposition to foreign military presence and nuclear weapons is widespread in the Pacific. But isolation has limited the development of a regional response to Western military intrusion and colonialism. The islands are divided by distance, economic needs, historic feuds, and varied cultures and languages, which have stunted the growth of a Pacific-wide nuclear-free movement. In addition, tensions continue between indigenous islanders' demands for self-determination and white Pacific Rim activists' environmental and health concerns in the struggle for a nuclear-free and independent Pacific.

NUCLEAR TESTING *in the Pacific*

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In January 1946, American officials selected Bikini Atoll in the eastern part of Micronesia as the site for the first post-Hiroshima series of nuclear tests. This meant that the 167 residents of Bikini had to be relocated as soon as possible. The U.S. military governor for the Marshall Islands received the consent of Bikini's paramount chief to proceed with the Bikini islanders' evacuation, after telling him that the tests were "for the good of mankind and to end all world wars." After the evacuation of the islanders, approximately 250 navy ships, 150 aircraft, and 42,000 military and scientific personnel participated in the Operation Crossroads nuclear tests during July 1946.

On March 1, 1954, the United States exploded its largest hydrogen bomb, the Bravo surface test at Bikini, which spread radioactive fallout across the northern islands of the Marshalls. U.S. service personnel stationed on Rongerik were evacuated 48 hours after the test; four days later, the Marshallese were removed from the contaminated islands. Japanese scientists monitoring the tests found radioactive contamination in water samples 130 times above normal levels at locations 312 miles west of Bikini. Radioactive contaminants were later discovered in the Mariana Islands, nearly 3,000 miles to the west. In July 1957, the Marshall island of Rongelap was declared safe for habitation and the islanders returned. The first thyroid tumors were reported there in 1963.

This tragic episode led to the development of antinuclear organizing efforts across Micronesia. Marshall Island leaders, in a petition to the United Nations in March 1956, indicated their depth of feeling about what was happening to their homeland: "Land means a great deal to the Marshallese. It means more than just a place where you can plant your food crops and build your houses; or a place where you can bury your dead. It is the very life of the people. Take away their land and their spirit goes also."

The United States has tested delivery systems for nuclear-tipped missiles in the Pacific as well. At Kwajalein and Eniwetok Atolls in the Marshalls, early intercontinental ballistic missile systems were tested for accuracy and reliability. Kwajalein, the world's largest atoll, continues today to serve as a bulls-eye for missiles launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California and as a test site for Strategic Defense Initiative weaponry.

The United States acquired administrative control over former Japanese-held territories at the end of World War II, subdividing Micronesia into four administrative sectors in the mid-1960s. Under growing pressure from the United Nations to end the trusteeship, the United States has been negotiating a new political agreement with the four areas since the early 1970s. Called the Compact of Free Association, it allows the United States to retain the right of "strategic denial": the ability to keep all foreign military powers from the region while allowing the U.S. military to maintain and expand its facilities in Micronesia. For the more than 130,000 Micronesians, the Compact gives limited political freedom while continuing the economic dependency of the islands upon the United States.

While three of the four sectors have settled with the United States, the fourth sector, Palau, has resisted pressures to do so. The major stumbling block is the 1979 Palau constitution, which bans all aspects of nuclear weapons and the nuclear fuel cycle from Palau's waters and land. The world's first nuclear-free constitution, it directly conflicts with U.S. policy to "neither confirm nor deny" the presence of nuclear weapons on navy ships.

The French established their present testing site in French Polynesia in the mid-1960s, after a radioactive cloud from its prime test site in Algeria drifted to Europe. In the mid-1970s, a series of nuclear accidents at the Polynesian test site led to a strengthening of both independence and antinuclear activities in Tahiti. In 1975, international and Polynesian pressure forced the French to abandon above-ground testing and move it underground. However, new tests were conducted in fragile coral reefs vulnerable to the nuclear blasts, and resulting radiation has leaked constantly into Mururoa's lagoon.

EARLY Antinuclear Organizing

Although there were a few sail-ins to nuclear test sites as early as the late 1950s, the antinuclear movement in the Pacific formally began in Fiji with the formation of the ATOM (Against Testing Over Mururoa) Committee in 1970. ATOM's stated focus was "to protest against all nuclear testing, but have a specific concern in the Pacific area." ATOM reported on the growing resistance within French Polynesia to nuclear testing, news of which the French had successfully kept from the international press. Early work focused on building an alliance among churches, labor unions, and the government, connecting with antinuclear groups in other countries, and pressuring the South Pacific Forum (SPF).

Established in 1971 to act as the regional political body for the nations of the South Pacific, the SPF repeatedly took a strong position against nuclear activities. Soon after the first SPF protest, the French suspended testing for the rest of 1971. *Le Monde* noted that "this marked the first time a nuclear power had given in to pressure from countries in the Pacific Ocean region." After the French resumed testing in 1972, Fijian Prime Minister Ratu Mara, under pressure from ATOM, denied French naval vessels the right to use Fiji

as a port of call and prohibited landing or overflight rights for French military aircraft.

ATOM asked New Zealand and



Australian trade unions to join the protests. New Zealand unions refused to service French ships and aircraft, and their government sent a frigate, with a cabinet minister on board, into the French-declared "danger zone" near Mururoa in June 1973. The Australian Postal Workers Union stopped processing mail to and from France. And the protest vessel *Greenpeace III* sailed into the French testing area.

In September 1973, the Fijian prime minister questioned France's right to conduct nuclear tests, telling U.N. delegates that the "most effective of all actions that we can take is to persuade

the U.N. Committee on Colonialism to hasten the liberation of the islands in the Pacific which are at the moment regarded as French territory." That November 17, 106 nations in the U.N. General Assembly voted against French testing in Polynesia.

The first Nuclear-Free Pacific (NFP) conference was organized by ATOM and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament of New Zealand. Ninety people from 22 nations and 85 organizations met in the Fijian city of Suva in April 1975 to learn about Pacific antinuclear and independence struggles and to discuss issues of joint concern. The conference included a

broad range of government officials, academics, church and secular activists, and both indigenous and nonindigenous islanders.

ATOM brought Micronesians who had been exposed to nuclear testing in the 1940s and 1950s to the conference, to share their stories for the first time. This face-to-face meeting was new for many islanders, for the vast distances in the Pacific and limited government and Western-controlled news media had restricted such contact and information sharing.

Conferees learned that the CIA had used Saipan, in the Mariana Islands, to



train Nationalist Chinese guerrillas to infiltrate the People's Republic of China between 1952 and 1962. They heard of the devastating health effects of U.S. nuclear fallout on Micronesians, U.S. personnel, and Japanese fishermen from the 1954 Bravo test on Bikini. And they discovered that the United States had used divide-and-conquer tactics to separate the islands of the Marianas from the rest of Micronesia in order to retain military usage rights. Such new information brought a sense of awe, common experience, and unity.

The independence of the Western-controlled islands was not the primary focus of this first conference, but there were long discussions on the racism and colonialism underlying the region's nuclear militarism. "To have a nuclear-free Pacific and a lot of people still oppressed in the Pacific—that's no use," said one delegate. Criticism arose from the indigenous people who did not have balanced representation with the white people at the conference. A Maori representative from New Zealand spoke out at the conference, "not only to deservedly embarrass our fellow delegates from New Zealand who are significantly not only all white but also almost exclusively male, but to reveal what we consider to be one of the core problems of people in the whole of the Pacific—namely, we do not have the power to determine our own destinies."

STRUGGLING

Toward Integration

Three years later, at a 1978 conference at Ponape, in the Caroline Islands, the nuclear-free Pacific and the Pacific independence movements still remained unconnected. A five-day Nuclear Issues Conference was followed by a five-day Independence Movements Conference. Many of the white delegates still saw the two movements as separate but mutually supportable, a perception that was not shared by the indigenous islanders.

Delegates endorsed the new People's Treaty for a Nuclear-Free Pacific, which emphasized the destructive effects of Western colonialism upon the Pacific and noted that "our environment continues to be despoiled by foreign powers developing nuclear weapons for a strategy of warfare that has no winners,

no liberators, and imperils the survival of all humankind." The treaty called for banning all nuclear weapons tests, nuclear power reactors, and uranium mining. It also advocated denying passage of ships or planes that could potentially be carrying nuclear weapons, and removing all bases carrying out command, control, communication, and intelligence functions.

Yet by 1978, the Pacific movement

was in trouble. There had been a breakdown in cooperation among the sectors supporting nuclear-free and independence struggles, and Western powers were beginning to fight back. A new economic arrangement gave France veto power over access of Fijian sugar to Europe's Common Market, and soon after, the Fijian government muted its opposition to French nuclear testing. ATOM had fallen apart two years ear-

"U.S. Out of the Philippines!"

By Bruce Birchard

The U.S. navy and air force bases at Subic Bay and Clark Air Field in the Philippines have been called the most important basing complex in the world. The largest military facilities outside the continental United States, they have played key roles in the twin U.S. strategies of containment of the Soviet Union and projection of U.S. power throughout the Pacific and Indian Oceans. They provided key logistical support for U.S. wars in Korea and Indochina and, more recently, for military actions in the Persian Gulf. They also provided a base for U.S. military suppression of the Huk rebellion in the Philippines in the early 1950s, and continually give the United States enormous leverage in Philippine affairs.

In September 1991, the current Military Bases Agreement between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States will expire. Official negotiations on the future of the bases will begin soon. Though it has been widely expected that President Corazon Aquino will give in to U.S. pressure and economic blandishments, opposition to U.S. bases in the Philippines is growing. Filipinos are furious that the United States is falling \$96 million short on its promise to provide \$962 million in military and economic aid in 1990 and 1991.

Many were shocked by Aquino's call for U.S. military help in putting down the December 1989 coup attempt by a rebel military faction. Though the F-4 Phantom jets from Clark Air Field fired nary a shot while forcing rebel planes out of the skies above Manila, the blatant interference in Philippine domestic politics sent shock waves through the public. Opposition to the bases is becoming a mainstream position. Newspaper columnists decry the degradation of Philippine sovereignty. Students, trade unionists, and women demonstrate. And a majority of senators now claim to oppose a treaty that would provide for continued U.S. use of the bases. Many will vote against the bases to support the 1986 nuclear-free clause of the Philippine Constitution.

The U.S. military has outright control of 25,000 acres at the Subic Bay and Clark bases, and privileged access to another 150,000 acres for training exercises. Clark is the headquarters of the 13th Air Force, its logistical and communications hub in the western Pacific, and home for a Special Operations Squadron and the CIA. Three smaller bases and 20 communications and intelligence facilities round out U.S. military presence in the Philippines. Approximately 18,000 U.S. military personnel are based in the Philippines, and another thousand civilian employees and roughly 15,000 U.S. dependents add to the impact.

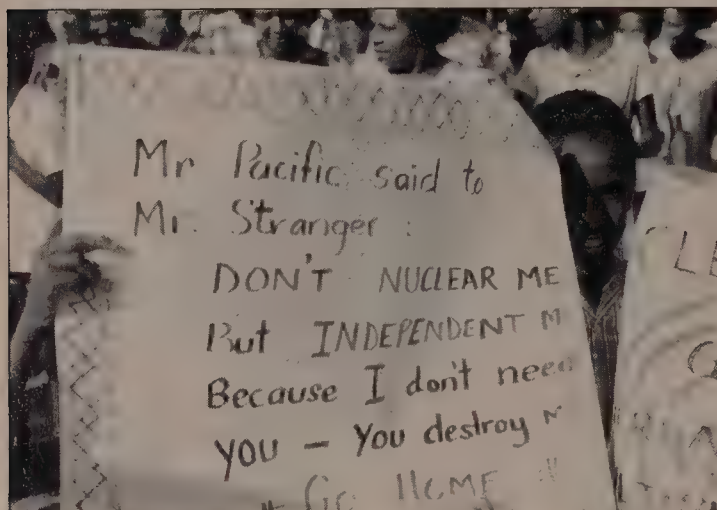
But the prize is Subic Bay. It is the largest foreign naval installation in the world and home port for the U.S. 7th Fleet. The Ship Repair Facility, which employs thousands of highly skilled Filipinos who are paid one fourth the wages of U.S. shipyard workers, performs over 60 percent of the maintenance work for the fleet. Enormous stores of fuel and supplies, plus 46,000 tons of ammunition, are stored at Subic. The base has nuclear weapons storage facilities, and extensive areas are reserved for bombing and gunnery practice and Marine training maneuvers. In direct disregard for a nuclear-free provision in the 1986 Philippine constitution, nuclear-armed ships regularly enter Subic Bay, "neither confirming nor denying" their nuclear cargo.

With many sectors organizing against the bases and a new "left to right" coalition of anti-bases organizations now operating, pressure on the Philippine government is growing. The U.S. peace and justice movement should join this struggle. Loss of Subic and Clark would be a major blow to the Pentagon, as it seeks to expand U.S. power in the face of Soviet withdrawals. This would also encourage anti-bases movements in other countries, and could be a step on the road to a less militarized global security regime.

Bruce Birchard is national coordinator of the American Friends Service Committee Disarmament Program.

lier, as a result of funding problems and the deepening split between environmentalists and those fighting for self-determination. The churches alone were keeping the issues alive as the movement headed toward its 1980 conference in Hawaii.

The Hawaiian conference provided a forum for Pacific peoples to build stronger communications and strengthen their own indigenous move-



ments for a nuclear-free Pacific. This unity emerged from the nurturance of what the Hawaiians call *ohana*, the deep sense of family among all Pacific peoples. Island delegates requested a more spiritual dimension to the meetings, in order to represent more accurately their *mana'o*, or feeling, and all conference sessions started with a prayer. Additionally, the Pacific Concerns Resource Center emerged out of the conference to maintain contacts, provide outreach to Pacific Rim countries, and act as an information clearinghouse. Finally, an international steering committee was formed.

The struggle to make self-determination the core of the movement's work in the Pacific continued. To advance the reconciliation between indigenous and white activists, Pacific Rim peoples were asked to support, rather than direct, the nuclear-free movement. Their role was clearly defined as "to listen" and provide data on the nuclear arms race. One Rim activist stated, "We tried to work our tails off and to keep a low profile."

Events in the Pacific after the 1980 conference helped to strengthen the NFP movement. The independence gained by Vanuatu (formerly the New

Hebrides) in 1980 encouraged similar movements in French-occupied New Caledonia and Tahiti. Kwajalein land-owners in Micronesia occupied their lands inside the U.S. missile testing range, demanding the return of more land and increased financial support. Vanuatu and Fiji declared themselves nuclear free.

Since seizing New Caledonia in 1853, the French have tried to force indigenous Kanaks off the land and replace them with French colonials. In the 1970s, a strong Kanak political movement emerged, and by the early 1980s the islanders were demanding independence from France. But, as in Palau, violence has been used to intimidate the independence forces, and today New Caledonia is an armed camp of French troops and police.

These surges of anticolonialism influenced the fourth NFP conference in Vanuatu in July 1983, which projected a more progressive stance: support for independence forces in French Polynesia, East Timor, West Papua, and New Caledonia; self-determination in Guam; national independence for Hawaii; and the end of all Pacific nation alliances with the United States. Resolutions were passed against U.S. involvement in the Philippines, the testing of cruise missiles on native lands, U.S. control over Micronesia, and use of the missile-testing range at Kwajalein.

NUCLEAR-FREE

and Independent Pacific



The NFP movement finally became the Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) movement. It was, as Phil Esmonde of the Canadian South Pacific Peoples Foundation says, "a conscious connection between the ongoing colonial structures and attitudes and the continued militarization of the region."

Yet familiar problems remained. For many islanders, the issues were primarily local—for example, self-determination for New Caledonia or missile testing in Kwajalein—and this focus con-

sumed resources and attention. Other islanders, sensitive to their relative isolation and vulnerability to pressure from outside powers, saw the tactical need to work more closely with Europe and the Pacific Rim nations. The diversity of approaches and corresponding lack of agreement on strategy was debilitating. And disagreement continued among islanders about the role that Pacific Rim peoples could actually play.

Clearly, there was a need to develop better contacts with the U.S. peace movement. Organizations such as the Center for Law and Social Policy, Friends of the Earth, and Women Strike for Peace all endorsed the aims of the NFIP movement, and the 1983 conference called for more outreach to U.S. peace and disarmament activists.

Events in the region continued to shape the ability to work for NFIP goals. In Fiji, the disappearance of the once-powerful ATOM had left a grassroots void in one of the major centers of the South Pacific. This changed in July 1983 when Prime Minister Ratu Mara decided to allow nuclear-capable U.S. Navy warships back into Fiji's ports. Returning from the Vanuatu conference, Fijian delegates quickly organized activists, church leaders, unionists, and academics, and by September 1983 the Fiji Anti-Nuclear Group was formed in Suva to resist the new agreement with Washington.

The nuclear issue gained new prominence through the Reagan administration's rapid expansion of naval power. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger contended that the Pacific is "not an area in which the terms equivalence or parity or other such formulation have any meaning. We must have naval superiority." Much of the planned 600 U.S. Navy ships were to be stationed in the Pacific, and would serve as launching pads for nuclear-tipped Tomahawk missiles. Trident submarines, with their increasingly capable nuclear missiles, cruise the Pacific from their base in Bangor, Washington.

One landmark in the antinuclear struggle was the adoption of the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty in August 1985 by Australia, New Zealand, and several island nations. It bans

PACIFIC CONTINUED ON PAGE 48

CRISIS



Activists are always eager for opportunities to gather together and discuss the signs of the times and the next steps for the movement. *Nuclear Times* provided nine of us from around the country with just such an opportunity late in 1989. This transcript, the second of a two-part series, reflects our discussion around the question: What lies ahead in the next five years for the peace and justice movement in this country?

Globally, the winds of change have

PEACE ROUNDTABLE PART TWO

FACILITATED BY
ANDREA AYVAZIAN AND
MICHAEL KLARE

gone from mere breezes to gale-force gusts. Consequently, it is difficult for any of us to say with unwavering confidence where our movement should be headed in the years to come. Our discussion primarily centered around a few programmatic and organizational themes and suggestions. But the discussion is far from over. We invite your thoughts, reactions, and responses to this peace roundtable—please write to the *Nuclear Times* editors and continue the discussion.

NICK CARTER

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL SANE/FREEZE:
CAMPAIGN FOR GLOBAL SECURITY

"Crisis of civilization" is an interesting phrase. It seems to me that what's in crisis is the sense in which we all seek a certain set of definitions to make us feel secure and help us understand our world, so that we feel comfortable and able to function. What's happened in recent years is that most of those definitions have been thrown up for grabs. Defining what an enemy is, what security is, what a good life is, how the world is pasted together and how nations interact, what the definition of liberal and conservative is—all of these definitions have gone haywire.

Nowhere is this more clear than when the Bush administration tries to cram the current international realities back into the old assumptions. Their poverty of thinking is evident when you take a look at how they approach the questions of NATO and Europe. It's happening so fast they don't know what they're supposed to do. So they cram it back into these old definitions. They're totally incapable of coming up with their own new thinking that can adjust to the world.

I think that's where one of our biggest challenges comes. The greatest opportunity we have is to begin to articulate a new set of definitions and a new set of assumptions that are appropriate to the world as it is and as it might be.

DAMON MOGLEN

COORDINATOR OF GREENPEACE'S MILITARY
NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE CAMPAIGN

One of the issues that Greenpeace works very hard at which needs to be addressed by the larger community in the next few years is that of nuclear weapons and reactors at sea. Some one-third of the nuclear weapons in the world and a tremendous number of nuclear reactors are at sea, and these weapons have not been covered during arms talks. We also need to confront the nuclear industry and military around the world, who are fighting a last-gasp effort to bring back nuclear power as the answer to global warming.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty conference is going to take place in 1990 and, perhaps for the last time, in 1995. South Africa is armed with nuclear weapons, as are Israel, India, and potentially Pakistan. Argentina and Brazil



*The peace and justice
movement has been
operating on the axis of
war-peace. We're shifting
the axis to become one of
oppression-liberation —
issues that speak to the poor,
communities of color,
economic injustice, the
poisoning of our families,
and the disenfranchised.
But there is yet another axis
— the democratization-
centralization axis.
Throughout the world there
is a commitment to resist
the global trend toward
centralization of power,
and to empower people at a
grassroots level. Whether
we work on crime in
communities or nuclear
weapons, power as well as
wealth need to be shared.*

have budding nuclear weapons programs. That's only going to get worse if we see the demise of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

We've only begun to see the tip of the iceberg of the impact of over 45 years of nuclear weaponry on the environment and our public health. And it should not be thought that the United States leads the way in environmental degradation. There are significant problems in the Soviet Union and a budding movement there to stop nuclear testing.

BRUCE BIRCHARD

NATIONAL COORDINATOR OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE
COMMITTEE DISARMAMENT PROGRAM

We can expect to see a very modest decrease in military personnel and in the military budget over the next five to ten years. I think this will come about due to both economic and political pressures. I hope our movement can escalate that process. *Fortune* magazine advocates the need to cut back military spending over the next ten years in constant '89 dollars from roughly \$300 billion a year to \$200 billion a year. That's a more radical proposal than many peace and arms-control groups are pushing right now.

In Europe, we'll continue to see gradual demilitarization and reduction of military forces in offensive weapons. The issues in Europe, east and west, will increasingly be economic, political, and cultural—not military. The possibility of a major war, either conventional or nuclear, starting in Europe—or even spreading to Europe from a third world crisis area such as the Middle East—will probably decline.

In Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, there is the realistic possibility of civil war, pitting different nationalities or ethnic groups against each other. Hopefully, such conflicts would be met by international efforts for conciliation and conflict resolution, rather than by attempts to escalate the conflicts and exploit the situation, the way the United States might have done ten or twenty years ago.

In the third world, U.S.-sponsored low-intensity conflict will increase—not using massive American forces, but using American advisers and technologies, which are supplied not just to regular military forces, but to paramilitary forces as well. El Salvador is cited as the model for low-intensity conflict, and that model is being followed in the Philippines,

where so-called "Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Units" do a lot of the dirty work. In addition to these local militias, vigilante groups are killing hundreds of people—peasants, religious and community workers, union members, health workers—whose work for the poor makes them "politically suspicious." Some victims are beheaded and disemboweled in attempts to intimidate the people. This is the reality of war in the 1990s.

NICK CARTER: Concerns of "good old business" may seem mundane, but I think we need to hold in front of us mundane subjects like finances. We will be eternally poor, but we can be much more efficient about the way that we deal with the money we have. In the future, I see us engaging funders much more creatively than we have in the past. We must find some way to prioritize our thinking and engage them in prioritizing theirs. Often the twain never meet. It's always a guessing game for activists to figure out where the funders are going to put their money.

I also think that we need to be far more sophisticated about our own finances and about investing it in ways that will make for sustainable futures for organizations. That means looking at other mechanisms of raising money, hanging onto money, helping money to grow, and helping people to help each other.

I'd like to raise one question—what do we do with anger and outrage? I think of Helen Caldicott, who was rather notable for the degree of outrage that she could engender. Is there a place for that in our future? If not, what will take its place? If there is, how will we use it? How will we channel it?

On the political side, I'd like us to

focus on the military industry and budget, which will be a donnybrook of *major* proportions, if we do a good job of it. But we need to be far more bold than we have been. If Robert McNamara and General Goodpastor can talk about cutting \$150 billion from the military budget, why aren't we asking for \$250 billion?

MARY BUTTERS

DIRECTOR OF THE WATCH IN MOSCOW, IDAHO

I want to point out that closing bomb plants is a back-door approach to stopping the arms race, and it's a good focus for anyone concerned about peace anywhere in this country. We all recognize that jobs and money fuel the arms race.

Our government's agenda for Idaho is to make it the principal home of the nuclear weapons industry. That will have global consequences. If Idahoans say yes and accept those jobs, we will have the arms race for another 40 years. That's what fuels the arms race. So it's important that we say no in Idaho and that we get help saying no.

The reason they picked Idaho is because we're a redneck state. In Grangeville, where both my children were born, we have bumper stickers that say, "Sierra Club, Kiss My Ax." It's what the DOE calls a rainbow community: it's really easy for them to find and take their pot of gold from us. But I think the soft belly of this issue for Idahoans is the health effects—scaring people about what has happened near other DOE facilities. That's what is really is going to motivate and grab people.

And I would like to see radiation victims given more funding. Foundation money goes to organizations and never to radiation victims, who can do powerful things when they are gathered together.

VIRGINIA BARON

DIRECTOR OF PUBLICATIONS FOR THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION AND EDITOR OF FELLOWSHIP

What are the major issues facing peace and justice groups in the future? For the long-distance runners of the peace movement, the pacifists, the problem is the age of our members. Can we replace the good old staunch backbone of our movement with new blood, in time to keep us in reasonably good health?

Can we as the peace and justice movement learn to be effective communicators? When we wake up from being stunned by the Gorby momentum, we will have to renew our push for unilateral initiatives from our side. We used to talk about this all the time, before the Soviets picked up the ball and ran with it. We need dramatic new ideas to keep the public from being conned into thinking we've left the era of militarization behind.

Some of the issues we'll have to deal with are: U.S. materialism, the passivity of the public, rising fear and insecurity among all who are employed as well as unemployed, illiteracy, the growing income gap between rich and poor, the



social costs of the budget deficit and military spending, drugs and drug wars, AIDS, low-intensity conflict, continuing U.S. intervention in the third world, and national military service for the poor as the result of the failure of the volunteer army to enlist enough men and women. We will have to stop asking the poor to join us and find ways to join them.

Instead of leaping from one reactive movement to another, we could try defining our goals and planning to meet them. At a time when demonstrations throughout Eastern Europe are calling for democracy, without really knowing what is meant by the term or how to achieve it, we must also ask the same questions here. We must make stronger, more effective links with our counterpart peace and justice activists throughout the world. We may be at a turning point in history, and we should make every effort not to blow our chances of creating real global partnerships.

JEFFREY RICHARDSON

DIRECTOR OF THE PITTSBURGH JOBS WITH PEACE CAMPAIGN

As movements begin to grow from the grassroots, people begin to push and demand, saying, "What we're asking for is not a little bit of change, but we want the whole thing." In finances, we have to push for the development of moral commitment through trust funds, grassroots fundraising, and utilizing all the training and experience that we have to be more efficient in developing and sharing resources, buildings, printing, and equipment to reduce our costs.

The intense competition between various groups of color will be heightened by the increase in the population of people of color by the year 2050, when people of color will be a majority. I can see people, based on skin color, being pitted against each other when there's still a very tight, white ruling class in control. I look at the November 1988 elections in Chicago and Los Angeles and see that trend beginning to develop already. That destroys the movement for all of us.

There is a dangerous tendency to lump all groups and issues together uncritically. Similarity is important, and that helps us to work and develop commonality. But groups have different histories, cultures, and political realities, which must be respected so we can work together better.



*A lot of us come from
dysfunctional families,
we come from a
dysfunctional culture,
and we form dysfunctional
organizations.*

We have to concretize our movement. Will we always be on the outside, just pushing? Will we ever take power, or will we always be governed by others? We have to look at forums like the Rainbow Coalition, which is an idea in need of a body that we have to form at the grassroots level. We won't find the leadership that we need in the Democratic and Republican parties. It has to come from somewhere else.

In our communities, I see increased racism and oppression of all groups. Look at the movies about rape—I don't know whether they're meant to educate people or to encourage rape, they're so sensational. Vigilantism is being fostered, particularly in the "inner city," as it's called. Outside of Pittsburgh, Mel Blount, a former Pittsburgh Steeler, has opened up a youth home that Klan rallies have protested against.

Many communities are calling for the use of the National Guard and opening up military barracks that have been closed to use as holding centers for criminals. Because of the fear of

violence, crime, and the drug war—literally a war that's going on because of the other social problems—people may consider these measures. And it's not just the African-American community that will be affected.

ROZ SPIER

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF CONNECTICUT SANE/FREEZE CAMPAIGN FOR GLOBAL SECURITY

We need vision, leadership, responsiveness, empowerment, and persistence. An ongoing challenge is to stay focused and specific, and still have a broad, integrated, and unified vision. We want to be flexible and receptive to new energy, new ideas, and new openings and, at the same time, maintain some stability and persistence. No one who was active during the Vietnam years would have dreamed that physicians or churches were going to be the leadership in the next wave of the peace movement. I want to be sensitive to where leadership is coming from next, but not neglect the base we have built.

We can be smarter about democratization of the movement. Two groups have been terrific models: 20/20 Vision and Haymarket People's Fund. 20/20 Vision is a letter-writing network of local groups that use the advice of experts in Washington, but make their own decisions as to what issues they will write about each month. Likewise, the Haymarket People's Fund provides guidelines and training for local boards that make grant decisions for applicants from their own communities. That kind of decision making is a good example for the rest of us.

Above all, we need to persist. We need to hang in for as long as it takes to see the changes we are looking for. I am impressed with the campaign put on by Greenpeace to halt radioactive dumping in the North Sea. It took seven years of going to sea in rubber rafts to confront, film, and finally stop the dumping of 50-gallon drums of waste. If Greenpeace had given up after five years or decided that they were using the wrong strategy, there would still be radioactive waste being dumped into the North Sea.

Finally, the peace movement has to recognize the power of the opposition and not blame ourselves for the difficulty of the struggle. The military-industrial-academic complex has a lot

ROUNDTABLE CONTINUED ON PAGE 50

MILITARIZING THE THIRD WORLD

The State of the Arms Trade

As East-West tensions decreased in the late 1980s, the world seemed a more secure and peaceful place. Even as the superpowers begin to reduce their huge stockpiles of weapons, however, arms continue to flow to the third world at an alarming rate.

Some \$337 billion in arms, equal to one-half of the third world debt, were delivered to developing countries from 1981 to 1988, fueling 22 wars and countless repressive governments. These weapons are almost always used on people who live within the nations that purchase them. Made anxious by the decline in superpower rivalry, third world states are now eager to build up their own military forces.

The Middle East absorbs nearly half of the military transfers to the third world. Exacerbated by the Iran-Iraq War, the tensions that have produced this regional arms race are not expected to decline soon. Advanced weapons systems, such as ballistic missiles and chemical-biological weapons that are increasingly easy to obtain, threaten international as well as regional stability.

There is no shortage of suppliers to meet this

demand. The United States and the Soviet Union currently account for one-half of the arms transfers to the third world. And arms reductions in Europe may lead to dumping surplus weapons onto the third world. Many other states in need of hard currency are eager to sell to those countries.

It is unclear what role China will play in the 1990s. But, as Argentina, Brazil, Israel, and South Africa all illustrate, there is a growing trend in the developing world to produce its own arms.

Reporting and regulating this trade is difficult to impossible. Even innocuous goods like transistor radios can prove as indispensable as small arms to a guerilla insurgency.

Weapons alone do not cause armed conflicts in the industrialized or developing world. But their proliferation needlessly intensifies the human suffering such conflicts bring about. Weapons trading promotes militarism, corruption, and indebtedness. Without pressure to stem the flow of arms, we will be facing a more desperate—and far better-armed—world in the 1990s and beyond.

By Peter Lyons, Keith Fitzgerald, and Robin Rheinbolt

The Experimental College Symposia Project, Tufts University

Map by John Sanderson

Many analysts fear that as the Cold War ends surplus arms from the United States and Soviet Union will be dumped on the more than 23 regional conflicts taking place in the third world.

Libya has supplied surface-to-air missiles and hundreds of tons of explosives to the IRA in Northern Ireland.

India and West Germany have supplied and/or raw chemicals necessary for the production of nuclear weapons to Iran and Libya respectively.

Three Americans and two Egyptian military officers were arrested attempting to illegally export carbon-carbon (used to make warheads more accurate) thought to be destined for the planned Condor 3 ballistic missile, co-produced by Egypt, Iraq, and Argentina.

Covert arms shipments from the United States included over 2000 anti-tank missiles and spare parts to Iran. Total value: \$15 million.

To Asia

Both retired and reportedly active-duty Israeli military officers are in high demand both in Central America and around the world for their military advising.

Thirteen third world states possess ballistic missiles and can threaten the world with chemical, or in some cases even nuclear, warheads.

No more complex to manufacture than ink or lawn fertilizer, chemical weapons have become the "poor man's atom bomb." Control is nearly impossible, especially as the U.S. and Soviet Union continue to stockpile the weapons themselves.

Two West German companies have supplied blueprints for an attack submarine to South Africa, violating a U.N. embargo.

Israel has a long history of cooperation with South Africa to produce Israeli nuclear weapons. Recently, extensive technology has been transferred to South Africa.

For the period 1981-1988, Iran and Iraq accounted for over one-fifth of the arms transferred to the third world. Although open hostilities have halted, both states continue their military build-up at an even more frantic pace. (Source: CRS)

All data are cumulative values from 1983-1987 in millions of current dollars, unless otherwise noted.

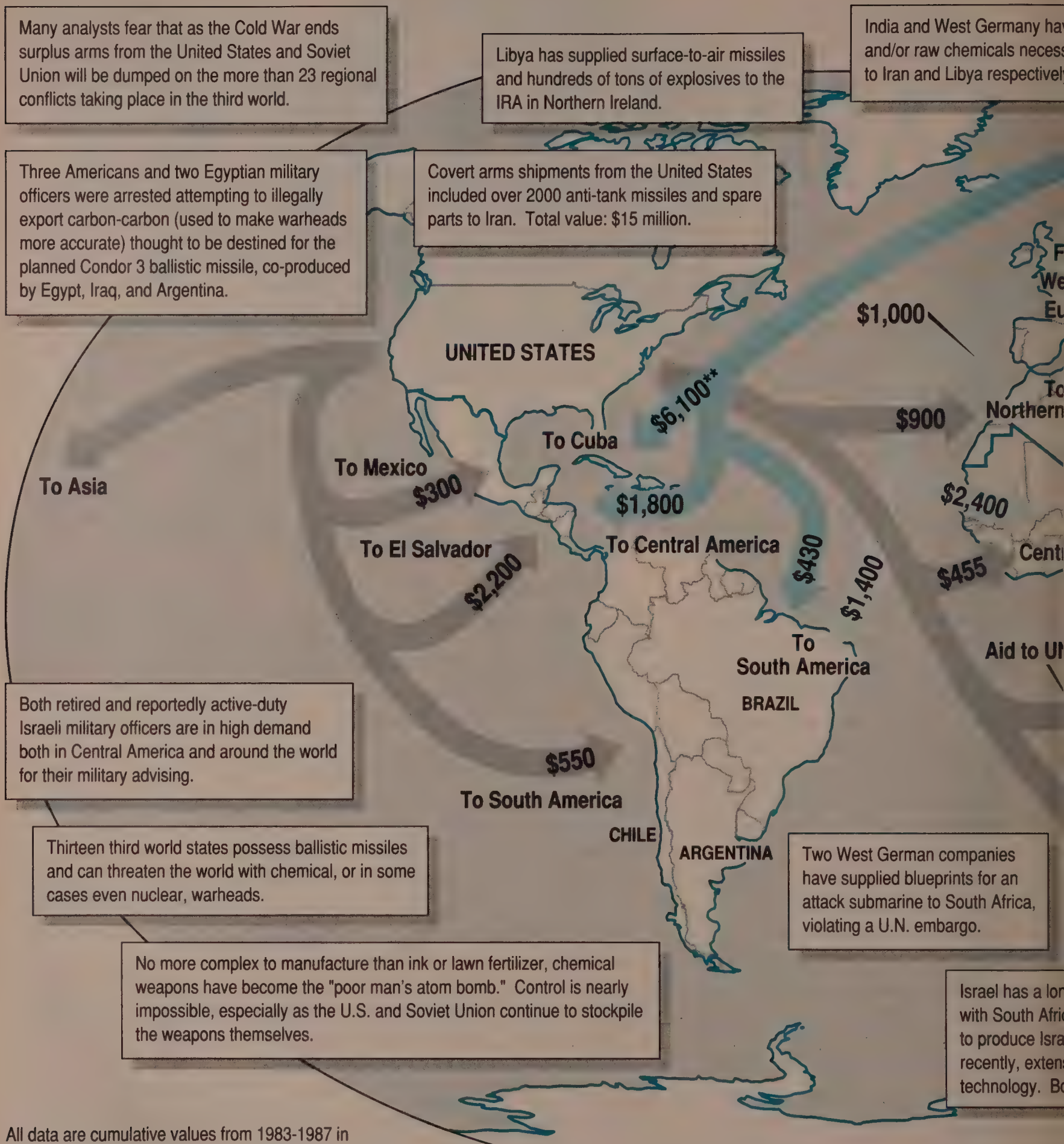
* 1984-1988 ** 1985-1988

Sources:

Arms Control and Disarmament Agency *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers 1988*.

SIPRI Yearbook *World Armaments and Disarmament 1989*.

Congressional Research Service *Trends in Conventional Arms Transfers to the Third World by Major Supplier, 1981-1988*.

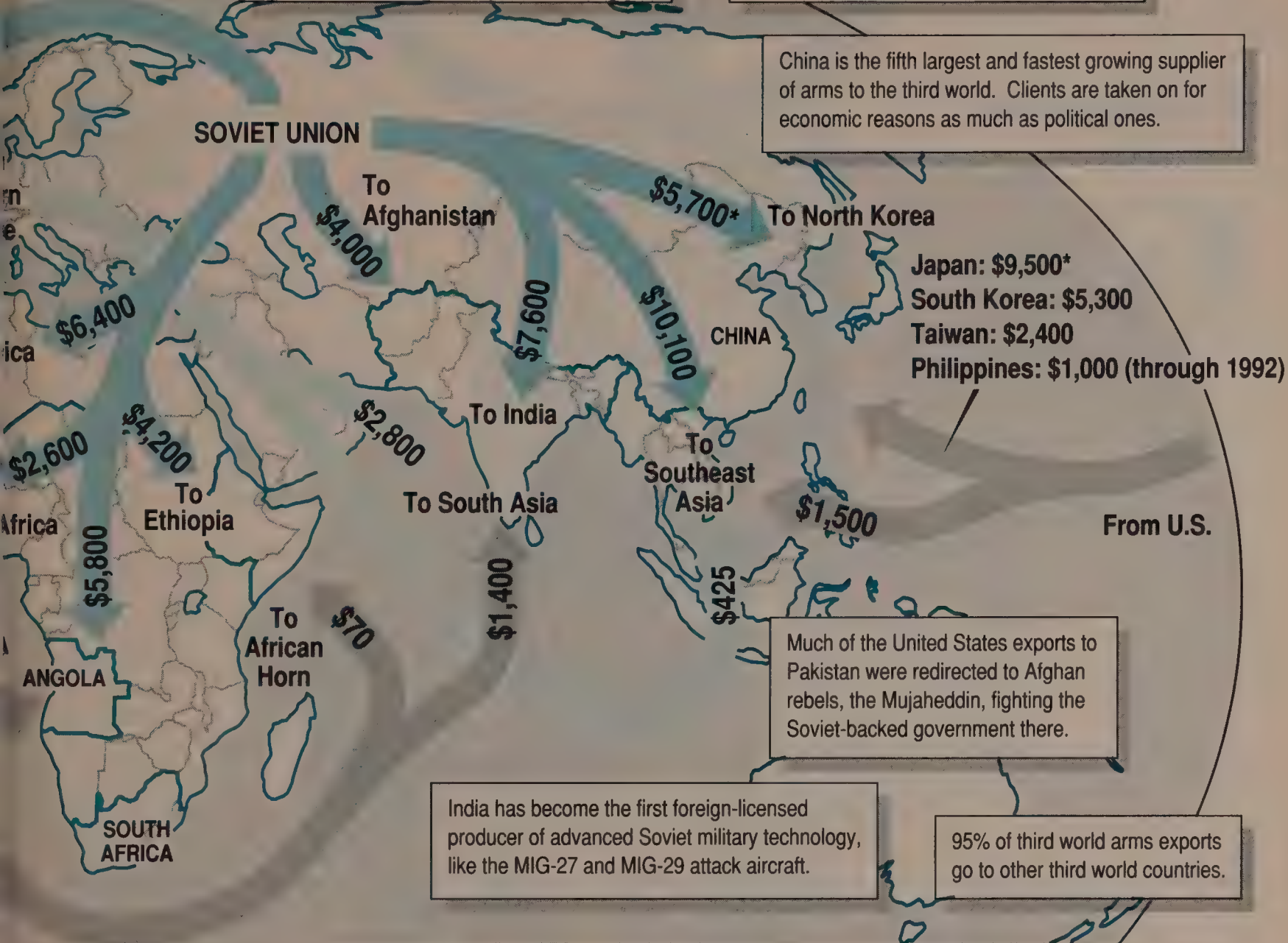


plied the technology
or chemical warfare

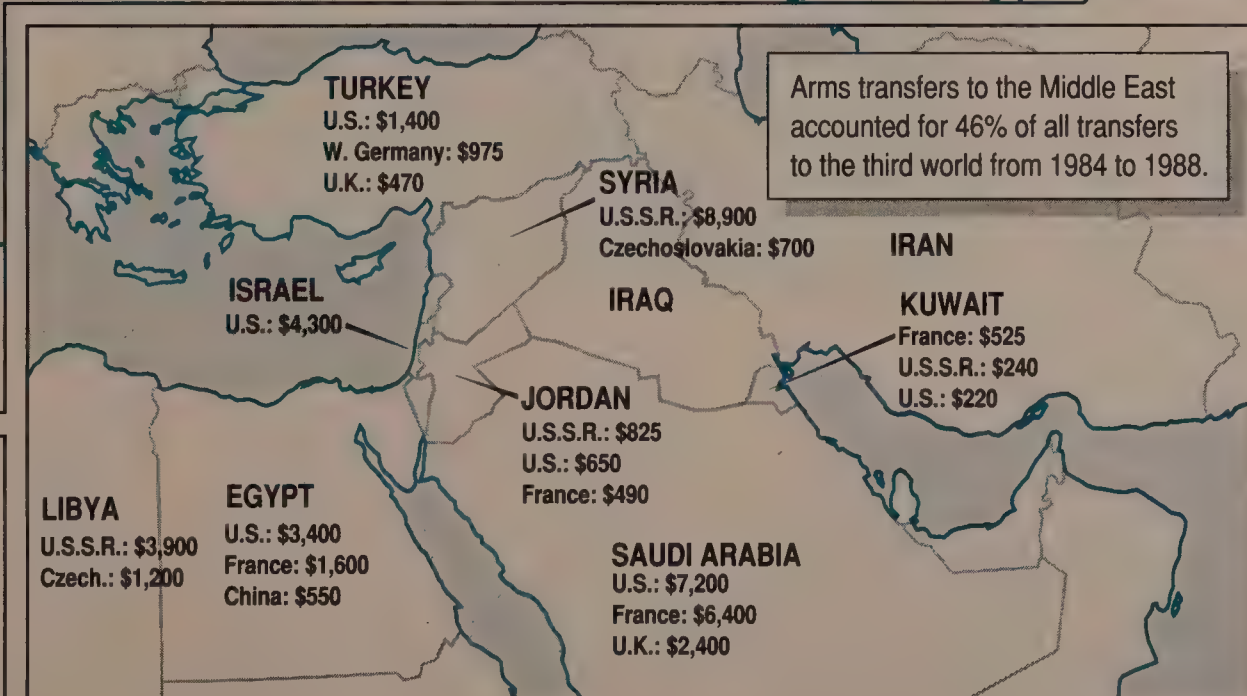
East European countries have long served
as conduits for Soviet arms transfers.
Czechoslovakia, however, recently announced
its decision to no longer ship arms for Moscow.

United States has supplied \$55 million worth
of radar technology for China's latest fighter.

China is the fifth largest and fastest growing supplier
of arms to the third world. Clients are taken on for
economic reasons as much as political ones.



history of military cooperation
including licensing agreements
arms in South Africa, and most
sharing of ballistic missile
capabilities have nuclear capabilities.



1981-88	IRAN	IRAQ
From U.S.S.R.	\$200	\$20,600
From W. Europe	\$5,300	\$9,800
From China	\$4,000	\$5,500
From Others	\$8,000	\$11,300

Still Fighting Apartheid

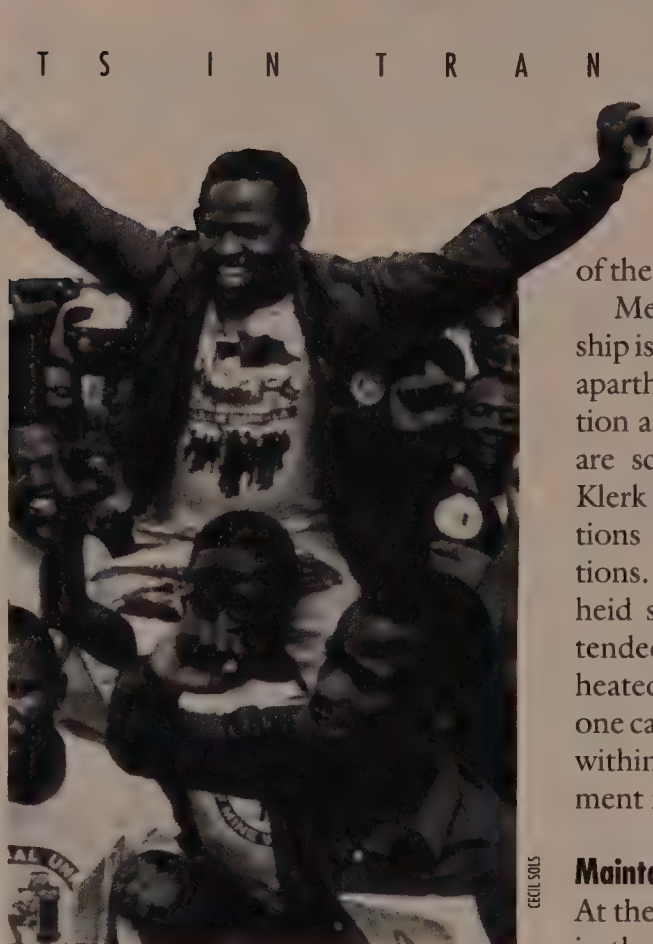
By Gerald Lenoir

Exhilaration is an understated description of the collective emotional state of the South African black majority and their supporters in every corner of the globe on February 11, when Nelson Mandela emerged from nearly three decades of imprisonment. Throughout the United States, the freeing of the most well-known political prisoner in the world and the legalization of his liberation organization, the African National Congress (ANC), have unleashed a torrent of pride, hope, and activism. Thousands have celebrated Mandela's release with street parades, official proclamations, and victory parties.

"The release of Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC sparked a tremendous amount of interest and excitement," says Imani Countess, staffer for the Washington Office on Africa, an anti-apartheid lobbying group in the nation's capital. It has drawn in a lot of people who weren't a part of the Free South Africa movement that sprang up in the United States in the mid-eighties. We got calls from people out of the blue who said, 'I'm proud of Nelson Mandela and I want to be a part of whatever is being planned.' One of the challenges we face is to incorporate these new folks into the movement."

Countess represented WOA in the Mandela Reception Committee, a temporary alliance of national groups brought together to organize Mandela celebrations. Now that the parties are over, U.S. anti-apartheid activists have begun to assess the changed conditions and redouble their efforts in support of true democracy in South Africa.

Mandela has come to epitomize the undaunted determination and courage



CECIL SOUS

of oppressed South Africans faced with the most virulent form of racist exploitation in the contemporary world. When he took his triumphant walk through the gates of Victor Verster prison, it signaled a new era in the anti-apartheid struggle. Mandela returned unbowed and unbent, proclaiming his steadfast allegiance to the ANC and its four-pronged strategy for the achievement of a democratic, unitary, and nonracial South Africa.

Mandela called for an increase in disciplined protest actions by the above-ground mass democratic movement, the continued activity of the ANC's underground apparatus, the continuation of the armed struggle, and the maintenance of international economic sanctions against the racist regime. He challenged South Africa's president F.W. de Klerk to implement certain preconditions that would pave the way for serious negotiations between the government and representatives of the ANC and the mass democratic movement. The cessation of armed hostilities by the ANC and the start of those negotiations are conditioned upon the release of all political prisoners and the lifting

of the five-year-old state of emergency.

Meanwhile, the exiled ANC leadership is preparing to return to the land of apartheid to reestablish the organization as a legal, nationwide force. Talks are scheduled to begin with the de Klerk government to discuss preconditions for the start of earnest negotiations. The transition to a post-apartheid society will no doubt be an extended process of bloody struggle and heated debate, the course of which no one can predict. As that process unfolds within South Africa, the U.S. movement is adjusting to the new situation.

Maintain Sanctions

At the top of the anti-apartheid agenda in the United States is the struggle to preserve and extend sanctions against South Africa. For decades, the call for the withdrawal of all international business interests from South Africa has been the mainstay of the pro-liberation movement in the Western countries. The recent conciliatory moves by de Klerk have renewed the debate over sanctions. Some in the U.S. Congress have suggested that the regime should be rewarded for its latest concessions by lifting the limited sanctions imposed in 1986. But Mandela and the ANC have adamantly opposed the lifting of sanctions at a time when apartheid remains intact. Likewise, leaders of the U.S. movement have called for the maintenance and even the strengthening of trade and investment bans.

Jim Cason, associate director of the oldest U.S. anti-apartheid organization, the New York City-based American Committee on Africa (ACOA), attributes the passage of sanctions legislation in 1986 to "what people did locally in 80 cities and 25 states in getting divestment legislation passed." Most of those gains were made during a crest of anti-

APARTHEID CONTINUED ON PAGE 34



Lessons from Nicaragua's Election

By Holly Sklar

Nicaragua has been militarily, economically, and psychologically tortured by Washington in a decade-long effort to overthrow the Sandinista revolution. Bush administration actions indicated that the torture would not stop if the Sandinistas were re-elected. Many Nicaraguans took the out offered by the ballot and voted for the U.S.-backed UNO (National Opposition Union).

Washington saw again, as it did in the 1980 defeat of Michael Manley's more radical first government in Jamaica, that procedurally democratic elections can provide the *coup de grace* in a campaign to destabilize an unwanted government. U.S. planners first envisioned the contra war as a quick and dirty rout. As one official put it, "We were going to knock off these little brown people on the cheap." The initial U.S. strategy was defeated by Sandinista resistance and public opposition in the United States. By 1989, Washington had occupied Grenada and Panama—with far too little protest from U.S. peace activists—but the only territory the *contras* had "liberated" was in Honduras.

A lesson for the peace movement is that U.S. intervention in other countries will not stop unless progressive forces win power at home—the power to implement alternative domestic and foreign policies, not just protest the policies that be.

Leveling the Playing Field, Contra Style

Congress violated the Central America peace accords and put the Iran-contra scandal "behind us" with continued *contra* funding, under the political fig leaves of "humanitarian" and "nonle-

mally, the number of attacks on military and civilian targets tripled."

In response to the rising attacks, the Nicaraguan government suspended its unilateral cease-fire with the *contras*. This had the unintended impact of reinforcing Washington's message that the war would continue as long as the Sandinistas remained in office. The U.S. occupation of Panama, which first appeared to firm up Sandinista support by underscoring the threat of direct U.S. invasion, ended up being another reason to cry uncle.

By the time Nicaraguans went to vote on February 25, 30,000 had died in the *contra* war, a figure proportionate to over two million dead in the United States. Nicaragua suffered about \$15 billion in war-related economic damage. The *contras* destroyed hundreds of new literacy workshops, schools, day-care centers, and health clinics. Instead of improvements on the advances for which Nicaragua won the World Health Organization's 1982 award for greatest achievement in health by a third world nation, malnutrition and disease again began

claiming more and more children.

"We Lost and Forward"

Amid war and austerity, Nicaragua was ripe for an "electoral coup." The U.S. government, through the CIA and National Endowment for Democracy (NED), succeeded in forging a united opposition front strong enough to re-



UNO SUPPORTERS AT A RALLY CLOSING THE UNO CAMPAIGN.

thal" aid. As a *contra* leader announced on *Radio Liberacion*, "The freedom fighters will orient Nicaraguans living in rural areas about how they must vote...and which candidate they have to support." The United Nations Electoral Observer Mission reported in December that "while the voter registration process was progressing nor-

duce the multiparty election to a choice between the Sandinistas and change, with UNO representing change. The Sandinista campaign slogan promised "everything will be better." Many doubted they could deliver.

NED poured in \$12.5 million in election-related funding, much of it channeled through supposedly nonpartisan UNO front groups. According to *Newsweek* reports, the CIA contributed at least another \$6 million.

While the economic and military conditions enveloping the election were not fair, the actual voting was a lesson in democratic procedure, putting to shame the democratic facades promoted by the U.S. elsewhere. The entire process, from registration to Sunday voting, was designed to maximize turnout. About 90 percent of eligible Nicaraguans registered to vote and over 86 percent of those cast ballots.

The UNO vote swelled as people voted their stomachs over their hearts, voted against war and the military draft—though many blamed the United States and the *contras* for the war—and against the Sandinistas for perceived failures.

That the Sandinistas received about 41 percent of the vote (to UNO's 55 percent) in an economy screaming under U.S. economic sanctions and war signifies the revolution's fundamental strength. Unlike the tension-ridden UNO alliance, the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) is politically coherent and remains the largest single party. In the National Assembly, UNO does not have the 60-percent majority, 55 votes, needed to amend articles of the revolutionary constitution. The Sandinistas also won municipal races, including the departmental capitals of Esteli, Leon, and Ocotol.

From their earliest days of struggle against the Somoza dictatorship, the Sandinistas have never been pessimists. The campaign slogan "We win and forward" became the joking "We lost and forward." Attention quickly focused on exercising power "from below" and winning reelection in 1996. Planning began for think tanks and nongovernmental organizations to carry forward the revolution.

Immediately after the election, many Sandinistas talked of losing touch with

their popular base and being overconfident about winning. As one Christian Base Community leader put it, "We didn't understand how hard the economic crisis was and we expected people to be heroic above and beyond all expectations." Another said, "We forgot that governments fall with [this] kind of economic crisis." Others observed, "We talked more than we listened." A lesson for the Sandinistas is to listen hardest to the people when it's hardest to listen.

In conditions of wartime survival and austerity, the Sandinistas found themselves too often in the unwanted position of saying no to demands for higher wages and expanded services. Sandinistas see the loss as a chance for reflection, renewal, and revitalized grassroots organizing. They will be free to organize workers and peasants, while UNO has the burden of meeting or rejecting Nicaraguans' demands—without the likelihood of sustained, large-scale economic aid from the United States.

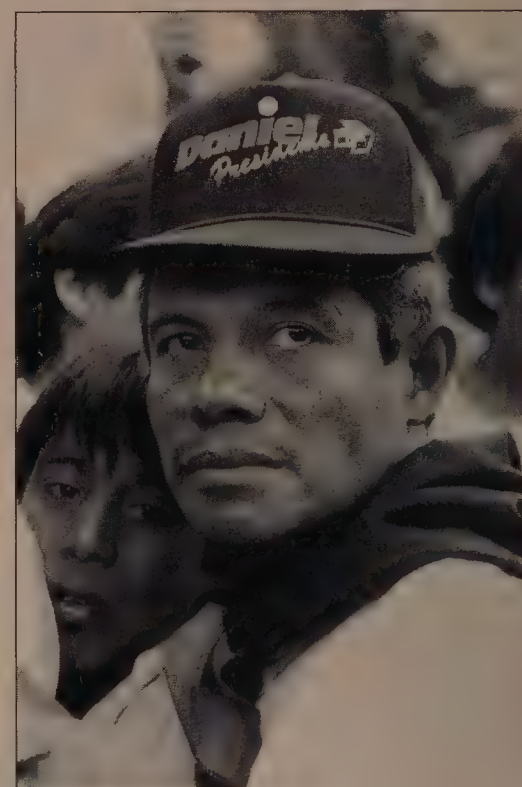
Scenarios

Contra demobilization is the key to a smooth transition, and Washington is the key to *contra* demobilization, rhetoric about supposed *contra* independence from Washington notwithstanding.

Under a best-case scenario, UNO and Washington will support United Nations-supervised demobilization of the *contras*, most of whom have left Honduran base camps and returned with weapons and new gear to Nicaragua. UNO will not insist on a purge of the military or security forces—a purge would leave Nicaragua vulnerable to the *contras*' Somoza National Guard-style military repression, U.S. military occupation, and a military coup to block Sandinista reelection. UNO will respect the civil service law that protects government workers from politically motivated dismissal. The FSLN will support UNO policies that are reasonable and peacefully promote a more progressive agenda. The FSLN will undertake extensive grassroots organizing and work toward reelection in 1996, if not through an earlier plebiscite.

Even under the best-case scenario, it can be assumed that Washington will

try to weaken and divide the FSLN, relying on the CIA, U.S. military advisers, police training, and perhaps the creation of a new UNO security service.



AT A RALLY TWO DAYS AFTER ORTEGA'S UNEXPECTED DEFEAT, AN ESTIMATED 7,000-10,000 SANDINISTA SUPPORTERS LISTENED TO ORTEGA OUTLINE PLANS FOR THE FSLN OPPOSITION LEAD "FROM BELOW."

There are various types of worst-case scenarios: If the *contras* are not demobilized, violence will intensify and the transition process may fall apart. President Violeta Chamorro, with the support of neighboring right-wing governments, could call for U.S. troops to put UNO in full control, and war would rage indefinitely.

In another scenario, the *contras* are partly demobilized. UNO returns land and property to *Somocista* and *contra* exiles, and peasants will resist expropriation. The still heavily Sandinista military defends the beneficiaries of agrarian reform. Or, with the *contras* largely demobilized, UNO could gradually purge the military of committed Sandinistas, allowing *contra* death squads and UNO-controlled military forces to step up repression against Sandinista supporters. In either case, civil war would likely result, and the United States could intervene in support of UNO. If repression did not reach the point of provoking civil war, a military coup could block Sandinista reelection.

The U.S. Movement

There are many ways U.S. citizens can promote democracy and justice in Nicaragua and the third world: Organize and lobby to demand quick and total *contra* demobilization. Oppose all aspects of a U.S. covert and military presence in Nicaragua. Support a cutoff of all military-related aid to Central America and promote negotiations.

Advocate legislation to require the U.S. government to respect the World Court judgment in Nicaragua's case against the United States. Demand that court-ordered reparations be channeled through nongovernmental organizations with a track record in grassroots development and aid projects.

Work to end all covert and NED intervention in the internal politics of other countries, making the point that similar foreign involvement in U.S. elections is prohibited by U.S. law. Encourage international observation of Nicaragua's 1996 election and any earlier plebiscite.

Organize international observation of the 1992 U.S. elections and work for democratic reforms such as easy voter registration, full public campaign financing, and extensive free media with regular serious debates. It is self-defeating to demonstrate and lobby Congress, for example, without organizing and running accountable candidates to remake government.

There are two basic, healthy messages coming from U.S. anti-intervention and solidarity groups in the wake of the Nicaraguan election: This is a time for renewed commitment and mobilization, not demoralization. It is also a time for creativity and reflection, not reflex.

While post-election reflection continues, the work of most U.S. solidarity groups continues largely unchanged, adapting to the recent nongovernmental status of most Sandinista projects. For example, Quest for Peace, which has challenged U.S. policy by countering *contra* aid allotments with material aid for grassroots projects in Nicaragua, will promote an alternative co-op and community-oriented development strategy in the face of U.S. attempts to redominate Nicaragua economically. Quest for Peace has also established a new human rights commission to moni-

tor political, social, and economic rights.

The Nicaragua Network will keep people-to-people exchange as the cornerstone of its work, with a shift toward more explicit political and material support for the FSLN and increased efforts to strengthen ties with domestic movements, such as farmers and organized labor. TecNica, which has placed over 800 technical and professional volunteers in Nicaragua, will now emphasize placing volunteers in projects associated with mass-based organizations and universities. MADRE will continue working in collaboration with the women's organization AMNLAE on a range of projects, including twinning day-care centers in the United States and Nicaragua, midwifery training, and support for an expanding network of women's centers providing legal, health care, training, and other services.

Peace activists need to make anti-intervention work more comprehensive and integrated with domestic struggles for change. We have to build on efforts such as MADRE, the Nicaragua Network's Oats for Peace campaign with the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, and the Rainbow Coalition to practice mutual solidarity and empowerment in domestic and international terms.

In this extraordinary era of global transformation and opportunity for self-determination, the United States dangerously believes it has won the Cold War, and with it the right to enforce a renewed Pax Americana in the third world. As the Soviet Union reorients its policies for the 21st century, the United States harkens back to the Manifest Destiny of the 19th century, now cloaked in the rhetoric of Manifest Democracy and the "war on drugs." This is a crucial time for progressives to speak clearly, with a bold agenda for self-determination, disarmament, conversion, economic and social justice, ecological health, and participatory democracy.

Holly Sklar is the author of Washington's War on Nicaragua (South End Press) and was an observer to the Nicaraguan elections. Her guide to the NED and electoral intervention appeared in Z magazine, December 1989.

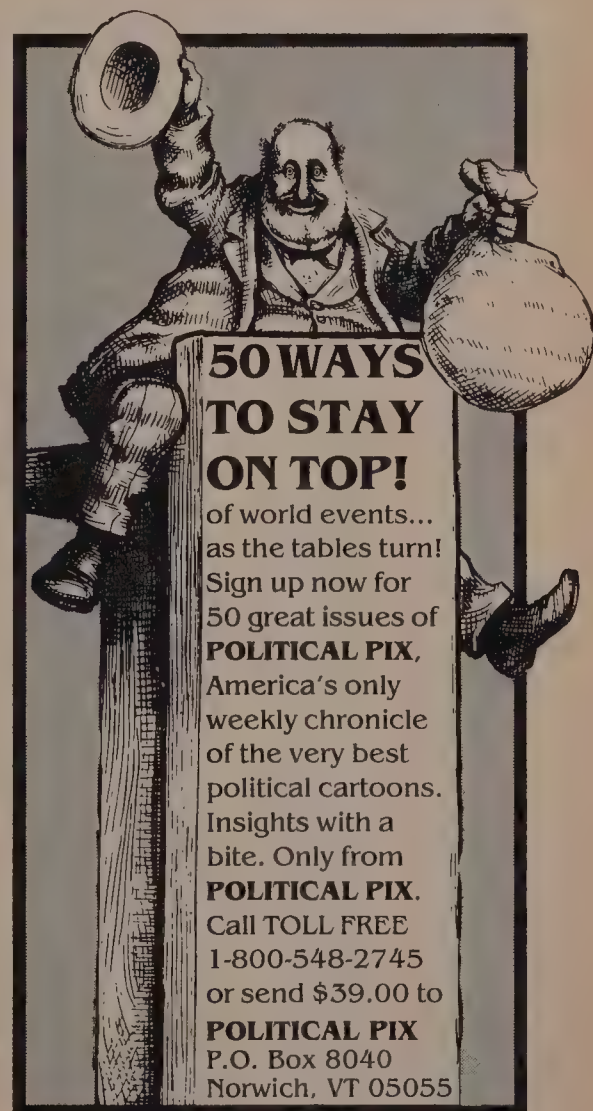
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APARTHEID

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 30

apartheid pressure in the United States in 1984 and 1985, when daily demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience at the South Africa embassy in Washington, D.C., launched by the Free South Africa movement, sparked similar protests in cities across the country. That pressure eventually translated into enactment of the sanctions legislation sponsored by Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) and passed by Congress over President Reagan's veto.

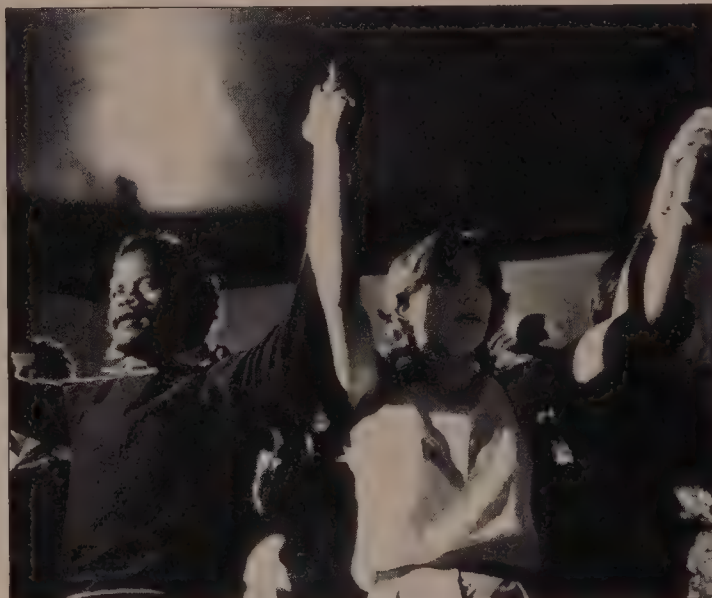
ACOA has initiated a new nationwide campaign—"End Apartheid: Vote for the People"—in support of sanctions against South Africa until apartheid is dismantled. Many local groups have taken up the campaign or have organized their own pro-sanctions activity. The Bay Area Free South Africa Movement, a group based in Oakland, California, is organizing local pressure for the maintenance of U.S. sanctions and the continuation of boycotts against companies still doing business in the apartheid republic. BAFSAM coordinator Nesbitt Crutchfield stresses, "Sanctions are vital. We must maintain them, because unless we do, the strategy of the South African government to make itself appear to have joined the civilized world will have succeeded. Nelson Mandela was released from jail and is now in a much larger state of incarceration. We still have a long way to go."

Hands-on Participation

Mackie McLeod, a longtime anti-apartheid activist and the newly appointed Southern Africa international affairs representative for the American Friends Service Committee, calls for hands-on participation in the 1990s, like the people-to-people contact that built support for democracy and national liberation in Nicaragua. "There is a crying need for black trade unionists, religious denominations, and educators to sponsor more cross-sectional delegations to South Africa and to the region to share skills and provide equipment," notes McLeod. "Black Ameri-

cans need to go and build human relations with black South Africans and then come home and become public advocates for material aid and for sanctions," he says.

David Reed, chair of the San Francisco Anti-Apartheid Committee, emphasizes efforts to generate financial



At a 1985 JOHANNESBURG PRAYER MEETING CALLING FOR "TROOPS OUT OF THE TOWNSHIPS" AND "A JUST PEACE."

and material aid for the ANC at a time when the organization's transition to legal status will require funds and equipment to set up national, regional, and local offices inside South Africa. The San Francisco committee and BAFSAM are two of the 25 groups in the Bay Area Anti-Apartheid Network, which recently raised over \$11,000 for the ANC at a Mandela celebration that attracted over 3,000 people. "We will also be demanding that the U.S. Congress provide aid to the ANC in the form of cash assistance," Reed adds.

Anti-apartheid activists agree that success depends upon the extent to which they are able to educate and inform the U.S. public about the fast and confusing pace of events in South Africa. "The challenge is to explain a situation in transition. We must explain, inform, and bring the word out of South Africa in a way that empowers people here," states ACOA's Cason.

Countering Distortions

Mainstream news coverage of South Africa has given a distorted view of the current situation, according to McLeod. He cites the "black-on-black" crime reported in the press as a prime example.

The hostilities between the Inkatha movement of Zulu chief Gatsha Buthelezi and the ANC-affiliated United Democratic Front have been front-page news, but with little exposure of Buthelezi's longstanding ties to Pretoria. The QuaZulu bantustan that Buthelezi rules is a product of the in-

sidious homeland policy of the South African government. Inkatha's attacks upon UDF members and supporters is an attempt to strengthen Buthelezi's bargaining position vis-à-vis the ANC. The ongoing violence has given the apartheid regime a pretext for continuing the state of emergency and the repressive police presence in the townships and homelands of South Africa.

But McLeod sees the main challenge to the anti-apartheid movement in the United States as the development of national networking and united action. Unlike the Central America solidarity movement, the U.S. anti-apartheid movement is comprised

of a large number of local, autonomous organizations and networks. U.S. activists have never been able to build a national organization or network capable of launching a sustained, coordinated effort. An opportunity to consolidate such a national network was lost during the mid-1980s' peak of anti-apartheid activity.

The Mandela Reception Committee, which includes ACOA, WOA, the TransAfrica Lobby, and a number of trade unions and religious denominations, was organized for a three to six month period. The constant regroupment of the movement at a national level to accomplish certain tasks or campaigns will be important in the 1990s.

Despite the release of Mandela and the gains in establishing a legal opposition inside South Africa, there is no illusion that the battle for freedom in South Africa is over. On the contrary, activists are gearing up for what they hope will be the final round in the fight against apartheid.

Gerald Lenoir is a journalist and 14-year veteran of the anti-apartheid movement in Seattle and the San Francisco Bay Area.



P R O F I L E

Dessima Williams Redefining Self-Determination and Common Security between the United States and Caribbean

By Leslie Fraser

What I want to say to the peace movement here is that it has given an enormous amount, but it needs to give more," says Dessima Williams, Grenadan ambassador to the United States under the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) from 1979 to 1983. "It has an impressive analysis and a large cadre of people, but it now needs to reach out to those people who are not in the peace movement." She cites the work on racism, sexism, economic justice, and redefining sovereignty and security that needs to be done both within and outside of the peace movement. "Peace has not broken out as long as you have the invasion of Panama, the electoral invasion of countries—bringing them to their knees to scream and yell—and as long as you overthrow governments that have the correct vision, but insufficient resources," she says.

Williams speaks from experience. She was a graduate student at American University in Washington, D.C., at the time of the 1979 uprising by the Grenadan New Jewel Movement that put Maurice Bishop in power. Williams was asked to serve as the Ambassador/Head of Mission to the Organization of American States by the revolutionary government. "Many Grenadas produced me," she says, "but the one that produced the advocate of peace and justice was the Grenadan revolution."

Williams has been living in exile since the U.S. invasion of her country in 1983, when president Ronald Reagan sent in troops to "restore order" several

months after the coup that overthrew Bishop and the PRG. But she is optimistic about the prospect of returning to Grenada in the next year, now that a new government is in office. In March, Nicholas Braithwaite of the National Democratic Party was voted prime minister, in the second election to take place in Grenada since the U.S. invasion. She believes that Braithwaite has been given a mandate to resume the projects of the revolution that he champions: equal rights for children born out of wedlock, social welfare, and jobs programs.

Williams, a faculty associate in political science at Williams College and director of the Grenada Foundation, is



finishing a year as the Radcliffe Bunting Institute's Peace Fellow. Her research there has focused on developing new paradigms of self-determination and common security in the United States and Caribbean that could promote non-interventionist, cooperative relations.

Williams says she is "looking at how countries in the Caribbean, such as Grenada, can attain national sovereignty under the prevailing order—which I call hegemony—in economic, cultural, and ideological ways." She cites the Western definition of democracy as one example of hegemony, claiming that "democracy is not a one-time structure of candidates and elections, but an ongoing process of electability and accountability, and the production of material benefits for people, so that democracy brings, as the popular saying goes, bread *and* roses—always, not just on International Women's Day."

In her work, Williams is identifying and analyzing constituencies and grassroots groups in the United States and the Caribbean that support common security and self-determination. Her list includes Witness for Peace, SANE/FREEZE, and the Institute for Policy Studies as examples in the respective categories of church, community, and think-tank organizations supporting nonintervention. Her research is an effort to mobilize a cross-cultural peace movement to help change public and U.S. government attitudes toward the Caribbean.

"How can we in the Caribbean construct a self-determination that is viable for us," she asks, "despite our small size and our small resource base, and the fact that we live under an Anglo-American hegemonic order?" she asks. "And on the other hand, how do we express in the United States the sense that your national security is weak and unstable if we do not have self-determination in the Caribbean?"

For Williams, creating a new version of security is an attempt to overthrow one prevailing set of ideas and install and be guided by another.

"I find a plethora of organizations, research, and good will," Williams says, "and a redefinition of security—a shift—from security as the buildup of military



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arsenals to security as economic, spiritual, and environmental equality." But she is frustrated because the notion of common security seems to have no place within mainstream social and political realities in the United States. "I think the question of peace is more likely to frame national political life after years of colonialism and years of assault," she says, referring to the centrality of these issues for newly independent countries.

According to Williams, the U.S. peace community "has seen itself too much in terms of advocacy—advocacy for policy, advocacy for piecemeal change—as opposed to seeing itself as an alternative political force. This community is still very marginal. It advocates common security, but it doesn't really have much impact: witness the war in Central America."

She believes that the peace movement must move beyond the limited goal of disarmament. Williams embraces the feminist vision of peace as more than just the absence of war, but as the presence of justice, of wellness, of sharing and caring. "That is a powerful framework to replace the idea of peace as simply disarmament and signing treaties and the cessation of conflict," she says.

Williams talks about changing the individualism of our society by bringing the responsibility for making political change down to each individual's life. "You can look at crime and homelessness and suffering, particularly in the black community, and say, 'It's really the responsibility of the state.' " She talks of counting 24 people pass by a homeless man who was begging in the subway, and none would give him a dime. "But there comes a moment when you feel, 'No, I'm the one who's watching you now. I must share something with you, even though I don't know who you are.' So you know what I do? I give, but I also give a long lecture. I say, 'What are you doing here? Are you working? Look at your muscles. You could be lifting a load. You could be a scientist. You could be someone's husband.' "

"I cannot discard people," she states. "I hope the peace movement gets involved in this human drama. If more of the privileged suffered, maybe they wouldn't allow privilege and suffering."



Green Glasnost

By William Mueller

I spent two months living with environmentalists in the Baltics, Moscow, and Leningrad who were working on bigger, more life-threatening problems than any I had ever confronted, without any legal, informational, or financial resources," says Randy Kritkauskys. "All across the USSR, I saw environmental consciousness propelling large segments of the public into their first active and positive experience with politics. I was impressed, even envious, seeing the best citizens and the keenest intellects entering public life through 'green' politics."

Kritkauskys, a professor at Keystone Junior College in Pennsylvania, joined the wave of U.S. environmentalists now working in the USSR. He was tired of fighting trash incinerators and industrial pollution in his community. "Hearing the cynicism of my American friends who were spending hours in public meetings and bemoaning the inadequacies of our political system," he says, "I wanted them to meet my new friends from the Soviet Union, who were risking so much by simply daring to be political." So Kritkauskys organized Ecology, an Earth Day conference at Keystone for Soviet and American grassroots environmentalists.

The Soviets who traveled to Ecology came to brainstorm environmental solutions and learn about American activists' tactics for monitoring, reviewing, and challenging industrial polluters. But among Soviets, the incentives for environmental cooperation are philosophical as well as practical. The greening of the USSR is tied to spiritual and cultural rebirth. Deep down, at the grassroots of Soviet society—though it was a long and bitter winter—there is a

new vitality and growth, and it is green.

Lithuania's Greens

In Lithuania, Kritkauskys came in contact with the then-illegal Green Party and the larger revolutionary Sajudis Party. They were fighting the Moscow-directed plan to expand the Chernobyl-



WOOD CHEMICAL PLANT IN LENINGRAD.

style nuclear reactor at Ignalina. One of the Greens who had been working to block the expansion was a young physicist who had documented several accidents and safety problems inside the plant. He had also photographed plant employees dumping nuclear wastes over an embankment behind the plant—effective proof in the public campaign, but dangerous for him.

What he needed from Kritkauskys were examples of energy-conserving methods that could be used to convince officials that expansion of the facility was unnecessary. He also sought reports drawn up after the Chernobyl nuclear accident by various inspection teams that detailed their recommendations for changes in this type of reactor. After Kritkauskys provided this information, the Greens were able to block the Moscow officials—a victory not merely for environmentalists, but also for the budding nationalist movement.

Then the physicist was brought into the plant, first as a consultant to advise on safety modifications, and eventually as the plant's safety engineer. "This isn't really cooptation in the Baltics," Kritkauskys explains. "The Lithuanian Greens, at least, have stepped into a vacuum. The government listens and utilizes their skills because the people in government either don't have any information or don't have any ability—and there is a mandate from the people to do something about it. They look at the Greens and say, 'Hey, you guys come and fix this.'"

Soviet Environmentalism

This kind of activism has been in existence barely two years in the Soviet Union. In May 1988, the Estonian Greens broke Soviet law by affiliating with the U.S.-based Friends of the Earth. Latvia and Lithuania soon tested Moscow's mettle by forming their own Green parties, with public demonstrations and petition campaigns that eventually led to the formation of broad-based nationalist opposition parties. In March 1989, these opposition parties, with strong environmental leadership, put an overwhelming majority of their candidates into the Supreme Soviet.

The Baltic environmental movement grew out of very real problems, mainly caused by vast industrial projects brought in from Moscow. But environmental degradation exists throughout the USSR. The Chernobyl nuclear accident in April 1986 shocked the nation. With new press freedoms, a firestorm of articles, documentaries, and reports alerted Soviets to the country's environmental nightmare.

Members of longstanding government-sanctioned nature and conservation organizations took up the cause of environmentalism. The revelations of crisis in the environment galvanized some of these writers and philosophers

devoted to nature study, scientists, and budding environmentalists into action. Without resources, they began snooping, networking, and building from scratch systems of civil disobedience, public review, and alternative methodologies. Today, there are hundreds of grassroots environmental groups scattered throughout Soviet society.

Eric Green is compiling a profile of emerging environmental protection institutions in the USSR for the American Committee on U.S.-Soviet Relations in Washington, D.C. "In some ways, the dynamic is very fast paced," says Green. "In other ways, it is still the same old Soviet Union. If you are talking about actual changes in the environmental quality, nothing is going to happen overnight."

Perhaps not overnight, but as 1989 will be remembered as the year of democratization of the Eastern bloc, 1990 may be the year of its greening. Seasoned participants in the U.S.-Soviet dialogue see the change. Grant Pendill of the Organi-

zation for American-Soviet Exchanges participated in a November 1989 conference in Moscow where 500 Soviet environmentalists and agriculturalists presented their plans and projects for joint activities. From past experience, he arrived skeptical, and delivered a challenge to the Soviets to act. He was worried that they would be insulted. Instead, "I was inundated with proposals for exchanges for the next two weeks," he recalls. "It was great! After all this time when Americans have taken the initiative, now the Soviets are starting to do it."

Many Soviet environmental groups are presently raising funds by any means possible. If they were formal groups,

registered with the government, they would receive state aid, but they would also be required to have their programs approved, hand over membership lists, and hold preapproved meetings in prescribed places. The cost of independence is involvement in capitalist fundraising schemes like selling T-shirts or offering consulting services to companies in need of pollution-control devices.

Foreign groups seeking to establish more permanent bases in the USSR

an EPA-styled ministry authorized to stop Soviet agencies from polluting the environment. At the January 1990 joint Meeting on Cooperation in Environmental Protection, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency officials were delighted to find the Soviet ministry's delegation agreeable, innovative, and ready to deal. Over 100 projects in eleven categories were developed, including new programs to protect the Arctic. The Soviets presented their American counterparts with their first

Report on the State of the Environment, a 200-page document being translated into English.

Of special significance was the decision to allow American environmental groups to address the delegates about nongovernmental organization (NGO) participation in joint environmental projects. Their invitation came out of an earlier conference on U.S.-Soviet environmental cooperation organized by the Institute for Soviet-American Relations. Eliza Klose, editor of ISAR's journal, *Surviving Together*, had noted early in 1989 the increasing amount



GREENPEACE INTERNATIONAL AND MELODIYA RECORDS MADE AN ALBUM TO FOSTER ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVISM IN THE EAST. SOME OF THE WESTERN MUSICIANS FEATURED ON THE ALBUM ARE (LEFT TO RIGHT): JOHN FARNHAM, BRINSLEY FORDE, CHRISSIE HYNDE, THE EDGE, ALANNAH CURRIE, TOM BAILEY, PETER GABRIEL, ANNIE LENNOX, KARL WALLINGER, GARY CHAMBERS, JERRY HARRISON.

have also followed this route. Greenpeace used the proceeds of record sales to pay for the opening of its Moscow office, which is a joint venture with partial Soviet ownership. Their album *Breakthrough* was pressed by the state-operated Melodiya and features donated recordings from two dozen popular Western rock stars. Since March 1989, it has sold over two million copies and earned \$30 million, which has been split between the Soviet Academy of Science and Greenpeace.

Soviet-American Cooperation

The new attitude has permeated official channels as well. In January 1989, the Soviets rolled out *Goskompriroda*,

of pages taken up by information on environmental activities. She sent out questionnaires to 90 NGOs, asking if they were working on Soviet environmental projects or would be interested in doing so. The responses prompted her to convene a conference in October 1989, with 16 organizations participating.

"In December, the group met again with EPA representatives who encouraged us to participate in their official meetings" with the USSR, says Klose. "We were able to play a role in welcoming the Soviet delegation at a reception on January 9, 1990, which was hosted by 25 American groups and brought over 200 people from the en-

vironmental community to meet with Soviet and American delegates."

The inventory of existing and proposed projects among U.S. organizations taken in October was impressive. The Environmental Policy Institute is working with Soviets on projects to save the rainforest, particularly in Madagascar. Worldwatch Institute has been writing reports and articles on environmental degradation in the USSR. The Center for Global Change reported working on an exhibition in Moscow on environmentally sound, energy-efficient technologies. World Resources Institute has established the Greenhouse Glasnost Teleconference program, and is translating its publications into Russian and including Soviet data in a water resources report. ISAR plans to create a clearinghouse for information on environmental activities and contacts in English and Russian.

U.S. Environmental Initiatives

According to Eric Green, the American organization doing the most these days is the Natural Resources Defense Council. NRDC laid the groundwork for its environmental initiatives during its unprecedented collaboration with the Soviet Academy of Science on the feasibility of verifying a nuclear test ban and subsequent work on nuclear warhead detection on ships. NRDC has extended its collaboration with the Academy into the arena of energy efficiency, outfitting an apartment in Estonia with energy-conserving windows and radiator valves. They will retrofit an apartment complex in Byelorussia and perhaps a factory as well. NRDC has opened an office in Moscow to facilitate future projects.

In March 1989, the Center for U.S.-USSR Initiatives (CUUI) in San Francisco sent its first environmental delegation to the Soviet Union, spawning several new projects. CUUI funded the creation of at least one monitoring lab with advanced capabilities, and donated other measuring devices. Small items like geiger counters and dosimeters, which have enormous impacts when activists use them in the USSR, have been donated by groups represented in CUUI's delegation. The Environmental Defense Fund sent computers, video

cameras, and other hard-to-obtain supplies to the Lithuanian Greens and Sajudis. According to EDF's Tom Huntington, activists used the video cameras to document the movements of KGB agents leaving their headquarters during last December's tensions in Lithuania.

David Brower and Earth Island Institute are working with a cooperative, the Baikal Fund, which operates a research facility on the north side of Lake Baikal. In August, Brower will lead a group of 15 to 20 environmentalists to Baikal to consult with the cooperative. John Knox of Earth Island explains that the Baikal Fund is concerned about the direction which economic development will take with the completion of the transiberian railroad, which intersects with the lake. Fund members are seeking advice on sustainable economic development, such as eco-tourism, rather than industrial growth.

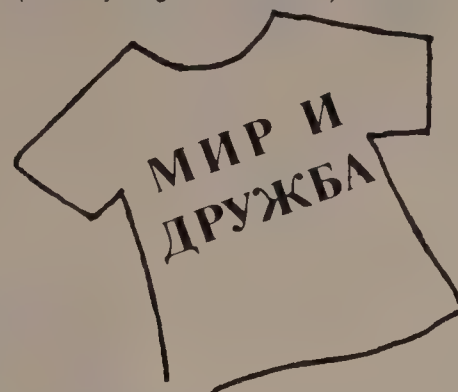
Conservation projects also abound. Sierra Club and the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Nature are working together on the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. The Environmental Policy Institute and the Moscow-Washington Sister Cities Program organized the Capitol Cities Exchange as an effort to enhance the urban environment. The National Parks and Conservation Association and the National Audubon Society are involved in the Beringia Natural Heritage Program, aimed at identifying and preserving the unique natural resources of the Bering Straits.

But the environmental resources offered by U.S. groups will remain miniscule compared to what Soviets are doing for themselves. By involving ourselves in their fight, Americans can play a crucial role in helping our Soviet counterparts to develop effective methods of action, which may also revitalize U.S. activism. In the process, environmentalism can be a new common ground between activists of both nations.

William Mueller was a member of the Center for U.S.-USSR Initiatives' environmental delegation last March. He is a freelance writer specializing in environmental and citizen diplomacy issues who lives in Solon, Iowa.

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Fighting the War of Ideas

By Lee Warren

We aim to set the terms of the debate," Pam Solo declares. John Pike's goal is likewise "to shape the debate." They and hundreds of others in advocacy think tanks are realigning Americans' thinking about security by supplying both information and the analytical prism used to view it to policy makers and the public.

The impact of these fifty or so outfits is hard to gauge. In the Reagan years, when many engineered powerful critiques of the nuclear buildup, Star Wars, and U.S. military intervention, their influence was palpable and unique. In today's more benign climate, these intellectuals offer a range of bold ideas for rehauling America's global role, ideas that were in embryo before the new U.S.-Soviet detente began to emerge in 1987. But the new thinking—or new realism—they offer is only gradually infiltrating the political establishment.

Just how they try to mold the security debate and how they act in concert with activists are pivotal questions. To some extent, tactics reflect origins. The leaders of these think tanks come generally from two camps: the ranks of political and social activists, people like Pam Solo and Randy Forsberg; or the ranks of the military, industry, and government, such as Gene La Rocque and Robert Bowman. Tactics also depend on resources. The organizations range in size from one to 30 staff, with varying numbers of volunteer analysts, and budgets range from almost nothing to \$1.8 million.

The strategies for translating thought to action, however, are similar regardless of origin, ideological bent, or size. Indeed, we can identify ten operational strategies employed by the think tanks, most of which overlap. The 12 groups

interviewed (see box for acronyms and descriptions) use various combinations. As a whole, they provide a portrait of how the disarmament community infuses new ideas into U.S. political culture and tries to remake the world at a time when the world seems especially prone to remaking.

1. Become Known as the Expert

Reporters and members of Congress will call an expert when they need information about a particular topic. As John

Pike (FAS) puts it: "I sit here and wait for the phone to ring." He researches space issues, builds data bases, and answers reporters' questions. It took him only seven months to become known and trusted in Washington as a reliable source of information. Gene La Rocque similarly reports that in an average week CDI gets 50 or more press queries and he does eight to ten interviews. Alice Tepper

Marlin (CEP) says members of Congress and arms control leaders call her organization for materials, and CEP will do short-term research to provide the data requested.

Researchers often appear before congressional committees as specialists. Others have moved onto Capitol Hill as staffers. Pam Solo (IPIS), for example, took a half-time position on the House Armed Services Committee in 1988 to work on the Defense Burden Sharing Panel, which led to a number of congressional hearings and policy recommendations. Bob Alvarez, who pioneered many issues beleaguering the nuclear-weapons production complex while he was at the Environmental Policy Institute, now works the same beat on the Senate Committee on Environmental and Public Works.

Groups use several strategies to establish their expertise. All emphasize serious research, hard data, accuracy, and timeliness. "It's not enough to provide a normative perspective," says Pike. "You have to know what you are talking about if you want to enter the debate—what the acronym means, what

the budget was last year, when the contract was awarded." Reporters are likely to use the material provided when they know that it can be trusted.

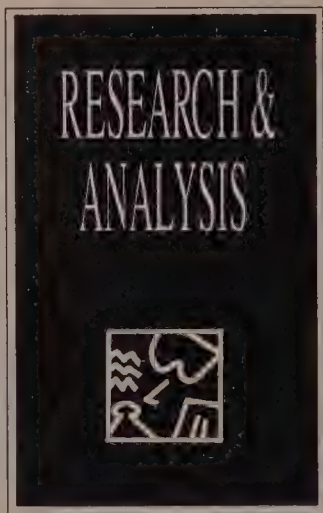
Eschewing extreme or radical rhetoric, many concede the need for defense—and then argue from there. Randy Forsberg (IDDS) defines this as "looking at defense policies that would make disarmament possible, that would provide for defense but not intervention." Spurgeon Keeny (ACA) argues for the "point of view that arms control is an important part of the security posture."

A combination of factors makes one credible. Gloria Duffy (GO) says her group is heard because "serious research is done by people with reputations, plus tactical maneuvering to get wide press coverage, plus timing on the issue." Spurgeon Keeny talks about the need for "established people, plus day-to-day information to the press. You need both credibility in specialized technical information plus experience and judgment."

2. Focus on One Subject

Several advocacy think tanks focus on one aspect of international security and become indispensably knowledgeable on that topic. Often they know more than decision makers, who sometimes come to the think tanks for information. IDDS is a good example of how this strategy is played out. The concept of their work is to piece together and make widely available the kind of information, normally classified, which is used for military planning, in an effort to empower people to develop their own thoughtful proposals. IDDS's strategy is three-pronged: create an extremely detailed data base, analyze trends shown in the data, and finally develop alternative policies.

IDDS collects information from the United States, the USSR, NATO, and the Warsaw Pact on the size of military forces, the kinds of wars they would be used in, the age of weaponry, and the rate of production or replacement of weaponry. They look at military forces interactively to see which are capable of attack, and which are for defense. And they show how the information used by military planners could be used to design strategies employing defense-ori-



ented forces. IDDS publishes materials so specialized that other experts use them extensively.

Forsberg says that this strategy was "hard to develop. It seemed so self-evident. Many public interest organizations think it sounds coopted. I think it is an essential part of working for disarmament—a rational alternative."

Other think tanks have followed similar strategies. ISSS has fixated on Star Wars for the last several years to expose the program's fallacies. Military operations and Pentagon spending are the focal points for CDI, which has the "best library in Washington on military affairs," says La Rocque. And CEP concentrates on economics as it relates to national security issues.

3. Define Security Broadly

Other groups, by contrast, believe that focusing too narrowly distorts the truth about security and limits a group's effectiveness. Arch Gillies describes the perspective of WPI: "All security issues are related. Security is economic, political, social, and environmental, as well as military. The roots of security are deeper and broader than the war/peace issue. The public has always understood this. This leads to the corollary that international and domestic policies are inextricable." This philosophy, he says, has served WPI well, enabling it to anticipate issues and help bring the political community to the same level of understanding.

The Committee on Common Security, a national campaign begun by IPIS that is aimed at both elites and grassroots activists, is based on the same concept. Its founding statement reads:

The fundamental principle of Common Security is that no nation can ensure its own security at the expense of another. The security of one cannot be rooted in the insecurity of another. Common Security necessitates genuine steps toward nuclear and conventional disarmament, economic and social development, active conflict resolution, and rescue of the environment.

"Our goal," adds Committee cochair Pam Solo, "is to redefine national security beyond weapons."

CPSR illustrates another way to broaden focus: under its large umbrella

A GUIDE TO ADVOCACY THINK TANKS

The *ACCESS Resource Guide*, an international directory of information on war, peace, and security, edited by William H. Kincade and Priscilla B. Hayner, lists more than 50 U.S.-based pro-disarmament organizations dedicated to research and analysis. Twelve were interviewed for this article. They are:

ACA Arms Control Association works to promote public understanding of the need for arms limitation and implementation of other measures to promote world peace. 11 Dupont Circle, NW, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 797-4626. Spurgeon Keeny, president and executive director.

CDI Center for Defense Information analyzes military spending, policies, and weapons systems. 1500 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20005, (202) 862-0700. Adm. Gene La Rocque (USN-Ret.), director.

CPSR Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility is an alliance of computer professionals concerned about the impact of computer technology on society. P.O. Box 717, Palo Alto, CA 94301, (415) 322-3778. Gary Chapman, executive director.

CEP Council on Economic Priorities focuses its research on national security, energy and the environment, and corporate responsibility. 30 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, (212) 420-1133. Alice Tepper Marlin, executive director.

FAS Federation of American Scientists works to control the arms race, to protect the environment and the rights of scientists, to conserve energy, and to prevent the misuse of science and technology. 307 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 546-3300. Jeremy Stone, director. John Pike, associate director for space policy.

GO Global Outlook does research on pressing issues of U.S.-Soviet relations and security in the nuclear age. 405 Lytton Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94301, (415) 321-3828. Gloria Duffy, director.

IDDS Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies conducts research and education on policies to minimize the risk of nuclear and conventional war. 2001 Beacon St., Brookline, MA 02146, (617) 734-4216. Randall Forsberg, executive director.

IPIS Institute for Peace and International Security works to develop and popularize political and military alternatives to the Cold War; founded Committee on Common Security. 91 Harvey St., Cambridge, MA 02140-1718, (617) 547-3338. Pam Solo and Paul Walker, codirectors.

IPS Institute for Policy Studies Working Groups examine the crisis in democracy in the U.S. and the world, development, human rights, and other issues. 1601 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 234-9382. Diana De Vegh, director. Marcus Raskin, distinguished fellow and cofounder.

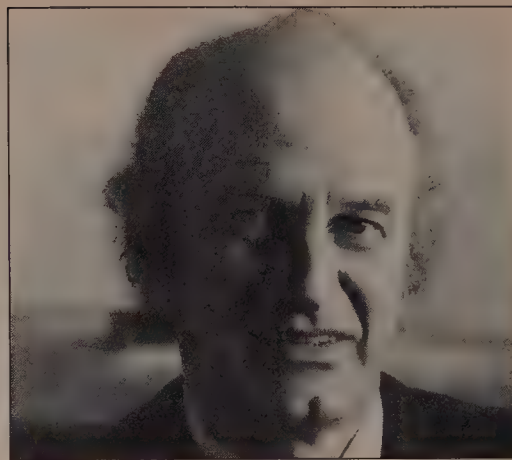
ISSS Institute for Space and Security Studies focuses mainly on analysis of the Strategic Defense Initiative. 5115 Highway A1A South, Melbourne Beach, FL 32951, (407) 952-0600. Robert Bowman, president.

ICDP International Center for Development Policy is a foreign policy organization focused on relations with Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Soviet Union. 731 Eighth St., SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 547-3800. Lindsay Mattison, executive director.

WPI World Policy Institute formulates and promotes policy recommendations on U.S. and international economic and security issues. It publishes *World Policy Journal*. 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017, (212) 490-0010. Archibald Gillies, president.



PAM SOLO, INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY



ARCH GILLIES, WORLD POLICY INSTITUTE



GLORIA DUFFY, GLOBAL OUTLOOK

are a number of more specialized, sometimes unrelated, subgroups. The broad focus is on social issues in which computers play a leading role; subgroups focus on the arms race and weaponry, privacy and civil liberties, and computers and the workplace.

4. Publish

Every organization publishes, but their audience and form of publications vary. Their common ground is newsletters, which nearly all produce and send to members, contributors, interested news media, government officials, and other peace groups. Many publish books and journals. Among the more unusual publications:

- CDI produces a weekly television show, carried on 500 stations, and has a wire service that sends out five stories every week to 40 newspapers, including the *Washington Post* and the *Chicago Tribune*.

- ACA has published a book, *Arms Control and National Security*, which presents the history of arms control, major issues, and treaty provisions. Complete with photos and accessible graphs, it is targeted to the press and students.

- WPI publishes one of the most highly respected journals in the field, the *World Policy Journal*, with policy-oriented articles and interviews.

- FAS's David Albright, an expert on the nuclear fuel cycle, frequently publishes articles in such influential journals as the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*.

- CEP's *Shopping for a Better World*, a shopping guide small enough to fit in a checkbook or pocket, lists how products and companies rate in ten social

areas, such as military contracting, women and minorities in top management, and the environment. The book has sold 400,000 copies and earns significant income for CEP.

- Every month, IDDS publishes a new installment of *Arms Control Reporter*, the most complete, daily account of arms control negotiations available. Bought by government agencies, foreign and defense ministries, think tanks, congressional committees, and the CIA (which has four subscriptions) and sold in 37 countries, *Arms Control Reporter* is self-supporting.

5. Use Famous People

A number of organizations boost their ability to shape the debate, their access to decision makers and the news media, and their credibility by incorporating famous people into their work. The three organizations headed by military men—ACA, CDI, and ISSS—are exemplars of this strategy. Spurgeon Keeny, Gene La Rocque, and Robert Bowman all utilize their own experience and high-ranking colleagues in the military, the executive branch, and industry.

Keeny, a former U.S. arms negotiator, adds that his organization, ACA, has "distinguished people on the board—people like Robert McNamara, Gerard Smith, and Paul Warnke. They spend a lot of time on this. We keep them up-to-date and informed, and they accept more invitations than they otherwise would."

"I go directly to those in power and have one-on-one discussions," says ISSS's Bowman. "I can do that because of my former positions and my credibility." He notes that he has gathered

generals and admirals onto ISSS's advisory board to show that all the military doesn't go along with stated policy. "It's an effective argument with conservative editorial boards."

Pam Solo (IPIS) speaks of an "activist/big-name combination." Her goal has been to link the academic and the grassroots levels, bringing the clout of big-name thinkers together with populist action. "We get some well-known figures who work independently. We offer them a community, a vehicle through which their concerns can be expressed. We get their wisdom, knowledge, and visibility." The conveners of the Call for the Committee on Common Security include historian James MacGregor Burns and economist John Kenneth Galbraith. As Solo says, "Big names help get access in the war of ideas."

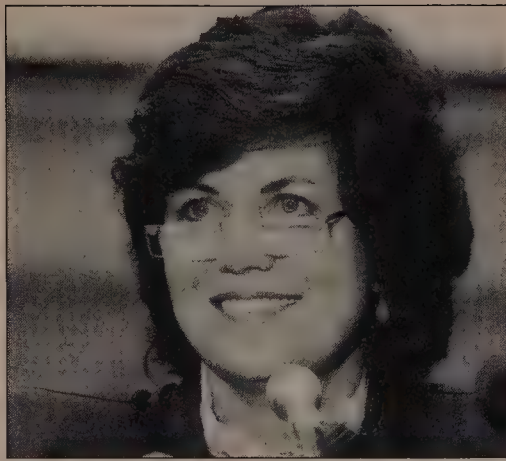
6. Act with Groups in Other Countries

Several advocacy think tanks work directly with people from other countries—government agencies, influential researchers, peace groups, exiled leaders—and are able to explore new options precisely because they are non-government organizations, unencumbered by officialdom's constraints. As a result, they gain access, intellectual honesty, and credibility.

Examples of this strategy abound. A CEP analytical team of U.S. and Soviet scholars and CEP staff is studying how the Soviet and U.S. economies and military forces will adjust to lower levels of defense expenditures. Their leading Soviet partner is the powerful Institute for World Economy and International Relations. Given the saliency of the topic and the stature of the team, the



ALICE TEPPER MARLIN, COUNCIL ON ECONOMIC PRIORITIES



RANDY FORSBERG, INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE AND DISARMAMENT STUDIES

study's results are likely to impress policy leaders in Moscow and Washington.

Global Outlook is interviewing members of the Soviet foreign policy elite to gauge the depth and direction of change in Soviet thinking about security. IPIS co-convened an international workshop on common security in West Germany last December. CDI is sending four people to Moscow to a Naval Arms Reduction Conference, a topic that the U.S. government refuses to discuss. "We see ourselves as a bridge between the administration and other countries," says La Rocque.

ICDP takes a different, more internationally activist approach, focusing on U.S. relations with Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Soviet Union. It weaves an unusual fabric of research and action. For example, an ICDP team went into Afghanistan, under fire, with Soviet delegates to conduct negotiations that enabled Soviet forces to leave the country without being shot at. ICDP is actively engaged in hot spots all over the world—Cambodia, El Salvador, North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, and Taiwan—working to normalize relations, end wars, and open trade negotiations.

ICDP also works with exiles while they are in the United States, showing them how the U.S. system works, introducing them to policy makers, legitimating the opposition in their countries. They sponsored Domingo Laino, vice president of the senate in Paraguay, during his time of exile; Raul Manglapus, foreign minister of the Philippines; and Kim Dae Jung, opposition leader in South Korea. They sponsor delegations to other countries, often taking congressional leaders with an

opposition exile back to the exile's country.

7. Work with Activists at the Grassroots

While some groups aim primarily "upwards" to get their research to Congress and the news media, others work broadly with local activists. The motivating idea of IPIS, for example, is to link academics and activists: "We push at both ends," explains Pam Solo. The role of the activists is to popularize new definitions of common security throughout the country, to mobilize action around those ideas, and to bring to elites a sense of what the public is thinking or ready for.

CPSR not only works with the grassroots community; it is a grassroots organization of computer specialists. From a nationwide computer E-mail discussion, the organization was born in the early 1980s and now numbers 21 chapters. Members write papers and circulate them for peer review and testify before Congress, among other activities. The organization has only two full-time staff, plus three part-time support staff. Their newsletter and E-mail link constituents, providing an unusually effective model for a highly decentralized think tank.

8. Pay Attention Early

Effectiveness in shaping the debate often means anticipating what issues are on the horizon. "We are now well positioned in the post-Cold War period," says Arch Gillies. "We have argued for four or five years that the Cold War is over. In 1985 and 1986, our *World Policy Journal* said that Gorbachev is for real and would follow through, that the U.S. is making the wrong moves

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in pursuing the Cold War and not environmental and social renewal. Having been right, our reputation reflects that, and the journal is quoted and used more by commentators and policy makers."

Randy Forsberg illustrates how vital such foresight can be. In 1984, after Reagan's reelection, she decided that the best way to reduce the arms race was to focus on reducing conventional forces in the East and the West. She spearheaded the "defensive defense" concept, working with groups in the United States and Europe. People around Gorbachev were part of these conferences, and in 1987, Gorbachev picked up the idea from West Europeans. He realized defensive defense was good for his budgets and for improved relations, and that it could be done unilaterally; in December 1988 he announced the first round of cuts.

9. Collaborate with Others

In a sense, John Pike says, "these groups are not distinguished from each other. Washington is a big place, and you need lots of people working for one policy to get anything to happen. If we were all really distinctive, nothing would happen. We try not to be too distinctive. Of course, we try to put our own spin on it for fundraising purposes, but after that we work in common at lobbying and political strategy, and we share information."

IDDs makes its materials available with the explicit goal of empowering other researchers and activists to develop their own policy proposals. Robert Bowman is keen to distribute material to other groups that have a broader constituency than that of ISSS.

These groups also share people. A close look at their boards shows some cross-fertilization: Alan Kay is president of IDDS's board and a member of the board of CDI. Randy Forsberg is joining CEP's team for the joint U.S./USSR study and is a member of the board of ACA. Marshall Shulman is on the board of ACA and Global Outlook. Lindsay Mattison is on the board of ISSS. The community works together. "We need each other, with our variety of niches and audiences," says Mattison. "The turf-conscious don't last long."

10. Organize to Match Goals

The organizational structure adopted should reflect its founder's goals. Gary Chapman, of the Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility, suggests three models:

- Sizable outfits that are supported by a relatively undifferentiated constituency and staffed by professional researchers. The Institute for Policy Studies is such a group: its range is broad, it raises \$1.8 million annually, and it has a staff of 30. FAS also has a broad membership, a multi-issue agenda, and a professional staff.

- Small think tanks that are supported by foundations and composed of a small staff of "experts and specialists." Global Outlook is an example: the staff there numbers six or seven, it depends on foundations, and it does not seek broad popular support or membership.

- Large groups, such as Chapman's own CPSR, which have a well-defined and largely professional constituency. Research and analysis are conducted by members themselves, and a small staff organizes the research and outreach.

Matching organizational structure to goals includes selecting a board that will work for and best reflect the group, choosing a wide or narrow focus, and emphasizing publications or congressional action.

New Challenges

Right-wing pundits are gleefully trumpeting the supposed demise of progressive groups, now that the world's balances are shifting with such dizzying rapidity. But none of these peace researchers reflects such a morbid picture; most see this as a time to increase their efforts to shape the debate. A sense of enormous opportunity motivates them, coupled with real fears about what the United States might do now that the Cold War is coming to an end. "As the world changes," says IPS's Marcus Raskin, "the question is how a new world can be born that is not pathological. If we can't do it now, we probably can't do it in our lifetime."

Arch Gillies is thinking about "how national resources should be planned in the next two decades. We need a new planning process that engages the public in new ways. The public understands

that the Cold War is over and a new era is beginning. The public also understands that the U.S. is declining in its position in the world economy. Most understand that this adversely affects them. The influential percentage of the population is doing well now; but 50 to 60 percent of the people are worse off now than they were 10 to 15 years ago. Therefore they are psychologically prepared to think about how society might better reorganize itself. This is what will happen in the 1990s."

This optimistic view is balanced by his sense that "this unease, the post-Cold War and decline, can be turned into a chauvinistic, bashing philosophy against the Japanese, Central America, and domestically, against blacks and women. Our job is to suggest how the U.S. can get its own house in order, to be a responsible and engaged member of the international community. And in fact to be a leader in suggesting new forms of global organization."

Randy Forsberg talks about the special role now of groups like hers, because the "U.S. is the only country untouched by the end of the Cold War in terms of military forces and spending. It is more remote. Large U.S. cuts are possible, but there are lines of retrenchment, a holding action in the military. Look at Panama: they say we can't cut forces because of drugs. But these forces are no longer appropriate. They are not needed for the drug problem."

Robert Bowman continues his efforts because "hundreds of billions are going into new nuclear weapons. They continue testing one per week in the world. We need to understand the mentality of why nuclear superiority is required: It's not to combat the Soviets, but to be free to exercise our will in the third world."

The challenge certainly is there—to take advantage of new openings and to ward off new dangers—and while some groups will need to shift gears to meet the challenge, others already anticipated that dramatic changes were underway. As a whole, these think tanks are poised to do battle in the war of ideas.

Lee Warren is a Boston-based writer and group process trainer at the Harvard-Danforth Center for Learning and Teaching.

Senate Races Where Activists Make a Difference

By Robert K. Musil

Tesse Helms overseeing START Treaty ratification? Strom Thurmond wielding the gavel on the Senate Judiciary Committee?

It could happen this year. If just five liberals lose and Democrats pull no upsets in other races this November, the ideological composition of the Senate would shift markedly to the right.

Five strong supporters of arms control in the Senate, for example, are at risk: Tom Harkin (D-IA), Paul Simon (D-IL), and Carl Levin (D-MI) all face tough races against seasoned Republican challengers currently serving in the House of Representatives. Incumbent Senators John Kerry (D-MA) and Max Baucus (D-MT) are facing possible upsets. All five have received 100 percent voting records from the Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control (PCNAC) in 1988 or 1989.

Even a loss of a seat or two can alter the upper chamber's balance: In 1989, for instance, arms control supporters in the Senate lost key votes on cutting both Star Wars (by 50-47) and a plutonium reprocessing facility (by 50-49).

Given such a chilling prospect, the peace community has been relatively slow to organize for November's elections. Some dawdling and disorganization is understandable. Indeed, attempts to elect a peace-oriented president from McGovern to Dukakis have soured many

activists on electoral politics. Peace organizations have also been weakened as modest progress in arms control and the demise of the Cold War have lowered the intensity, profile, and support of peace issues.

A number of groups have stabilized at very strong levels of membership and activity, however, and face an opportunity to make a difference in the 1990 elections. The peace movement has been effective over the years at raising issues and electing candidates to the Senate and House. In 1986, activists played a key role in the campaigns of Tom Daschle, Kent Conrad, Tim Wirth, and others, which resulted in the Democrats recapturing control of the Senate.

This year is another chance to exert a powerful impact on Capitol Hill and the prospects for arms reductions.

Strong Presence on the Plains

Some peace activists are already active. In February, forty key organizers from Iowa, Michigan, Illinois, Nebraska, and other states attended the National Training Institute sponsored by the PCNAC Education Fund. Based on a model developed by Freeze Voter (which consolidated into PCNAC in 1989), the institute featured several Washington, D.C., campaign experts.

Participants stressed the advantages for their groups of raising peace issues during the campaign season. Nebraska PeacePAC, for in-

stance, has been meeting with Sen. James Exon, a key moderate Democrat who chairs the Strategic Nuclear Subcommittee and sits on the Senate Budget Committee. Exon has expressed interest in the statewide "Proposal for Balanced National Security" being touted by Nebraskans for Peace.

It calls for cuts of five percent per year in defense spending and a new definition of national security. Exon faces a tough race and has noticed the lack of grassroots support and volunteers for his campaign, compared with Sen. Bob Kerrey's 1988 campaign.

The Exon race typifies electoral dilemmas for peace activists. By

holding out the promise of peace movement support and by raising "peace dividend" issues, Nebraska PeacePAC has maintained momentum after the Kerrey race. Exon, however, has little of Kerrey's allure: he has never scored higher than 50 percent on the PCNAC voting record for arms control, and last year scored only 25 percent. But Exon's opponent, former Representative Hal Daub, is a staunch conservative who is unlikely to support arms control or peace dividend issues in the Senate. Exon has consistently appeared on lobbyists' swing lists for tight arms control votes.

The Exon race is one of a handful of closely contested races in a lightly populated state where peace movement support could mean the difference between Democratic or Republican control of the Senate. For now, activists want to see Exon support elements of their common security program before endorsing him. "Whatever happens," says Nebraska PeacePAC's John Murphy, "it's important that we are



SEN. PAUL SIMON, ILLINOIS



REP. CLAUDINE SCHNEIDER, RHODE ISLAND

perceived as players, have developed further access to Exon, and have maintained the momentum of our activists."

Other key races this year are simpler for activists to assess. Sen. Tom Harkin's race in Iowa is likely to be the main beneficiary of peace movement support in 1990. Harkin has been a strong supporter of peace in Central America, has introduced the Outer Space Protection Act to ban Star Wars and other weapons in space, and has been the convener of an arms control caucus in the Senate that met regularly with peace group lobbyists. Harkin is one of the few Democratic senators calling loudly for deep cuts in military spending with savings transferred to domestic programs. According to defense aide Sandy Thomas, Harkin proposes a level of \$282 billion in military spending authority for fiscal year 1991, a cut of \$25 billion from Bush's request.

Iowa peace activist Francine Banworth notes that Harkin highlighted defense cuts along with his strong pro-choice views at a successful campaign kickoff in Dubuque. Banworth is now working for the Harkin campaign through the Arizona-based Operation Real Security Political Action Committee, which is unaffiliated, one of the first groups to gear up for the 1990 electoral season. Headed by Jim Driscoll, cofounder of American Peace Test, and Ann Edgerton, former board member of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, the group hired Banworth to begin work in Iowa last fall. She had previously coordinated a statewide Comprehensive Test Ban campaign in which 22 Iowa cities endorsed a CTB. Banworth hopes to keep that network alive and involved through voter education and get-out-the-vote work. Driscoll, who organized Peace Politics 88 inside the Democratic National



SEN. TOM HARKIN, IOWA

Committee to utilize peace activists nationwide in 1988 elections, fears that the whole network of contacts, money, and volunteers built up by the peace movement over the years may fade away if it isn't used now.

None of this effort comes too soon, because conservatives have targeted Harkin for defeat. Running against Harkin is the popular Rep. Tom Tauke. Representing the heavily catholic Dubuque area, Tauke is anti-choice, but he's relatively moderate on defense issues (earning a 55 percent PCNAC score). Bush has already appeared in Iowa on behalf of Tauke, who has launched a slick series of negative campaign ads designed to make Harkin look out of touch with Iowa. Springtime polls showed Harkin with only a 10-point lead over Tauke, which is a weak showing for an incumbent early in the race. This summer, as the campaign heats up, other peace groups plan to enter the fray in Iowa—for example, SANE/FREEZE is likely to assign field staff to the state.

Potential Conflicts

Protecting pro-arms control senators like Harkin is politically important, says John Isaacs of the Council for a Livable World, because Republicans have recruited a strong group of challengers this year. Adds Isaacs, "I haven't seen such a weak group of Democratic challengers since I started in this business in 1978." The Council has endorsed incumbents Simon, Harkin, Levin, and Claiborne Pell, the venerable Rhode Island brahmin. All face tough races

from House challengers, including Bill Schuette in Michigan, Lynn Martin in Illinois, and Claudine Schneider in Rhode Island.

Levin, a strong voice for arms control in the Senate, may become a victim of "damned if you do, damned if you don't" politics. Levin sports a 100 percent PCNAC voting record and has led the fight against the MX rail garrison system. He also spoke out early about the possibility of reducing forces in NATO, even before the revolutions in Eastern Europe. Levin is thoughtful and judicious on defense issues, but his style does not ignite grassroots enthusiasm and he has continued to back the B-2 bomber and M-1 tank because of jobs in Michigan. Levin is considering dropping support for the B-2 bomber, but elected with 52 percent of the vote in 1984, he

risks being caricatured as an egghead dove who's out of touch with Michigan. Schuette, meanwhile, has a zero percent PCNAC voting record.

In some races, activists are divided. Perhaps the most difficult case is Rhode Island, where Pell, 71, chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is being challenged by 43-year-old Rep. Claudine Schneider, who has a 100 percent PCNAC arms



SEN. CARL LEVIN, MICHIGAN

control record. While Pell has been endorsed by the Council for a Livable World, the largest and most influential peace political action committee (PAC), Schneider has been endorsed by Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament PAC and a host of other women's organizations. Suzie Kerr, director of WAND PAC, notes that "Schneider has been very open to us and helpful to every new woman legislator who has come to Washington." In addition to strong arms control and pro-choice stands, Schneider is energetic and increasingly influential in the House, while Pell, despite his impeccable arms control record, has been criticized as a weak and somewhat lackadaisical committee chair.

For WAND's Kerr, the issue is the general composition of the Congress,



REP. NITA LOWEY, NEW YORK

of which women are only five percent. A relatively small PAC, WAND has endorsed only a few women candidates, including incumbent Representatives Jolene Unsoeld (D-WA), Nita Lowey (D-NY), and Schneider; House challengers Joan Kelly Horn in Missouri and Jeanne Givens in Idaho; and Senate challenger Josie Heath in Colorado.

Progressives also have been divided on the North Carolina primary, where the winning Democrat will face Sen. Jesse Helms. Former Charlotte mayor Harvey Gantt, a moderate black politician, was leading in polls of Democratic voters before the May 8 primary, and was running practically even with Helms. Gantt had difficulty raising PAC funds, however, because the AFL-CIO backed his opponent, Mike Easley, a white district attorney from Wilmington. Gantt has been outspoken on peace issues, having awarded the keys to the city to Dr. Helen Caldicott in the early days of the nuclear weapons freeze, when honoring the fiery WAND leader was a bold step in North Carolina. Gantt is "fantastic," says Linda Stout, director of the multiracial Piedmont Peace Project, which turned out 3,000 volunteers in eight North Carolina counties in 1988. Gantt has been endorsed by SANE/FREEZE PAC.

Other interesting Senate races include Kentucky, where Harvey Sloan, a member of Physicians for Social Responsibility, is challenging mediocre incumbent Mitch McConnell; South Dakota, where progressive businessman Ted Muenster is challenging maverick Republican Sen. Larry Pressler; and Indiana, where state senator Baron Hill is running against Sen. Dan Coats, who is serving out Dan Quayle's term.

Peace activists will also be involved in some two dozen House races in 1990, but since pro-arms control majorities are not yet in danger in the House, the Senate is the place to watch. It is there that the future of nuclear arms control and efforts to cut the defense budget will be decided.

Robert K. Musil is the executive director of the Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control in Washington, D.C. and host of the nationally syndicated radio program, "Consider the Alternatives."

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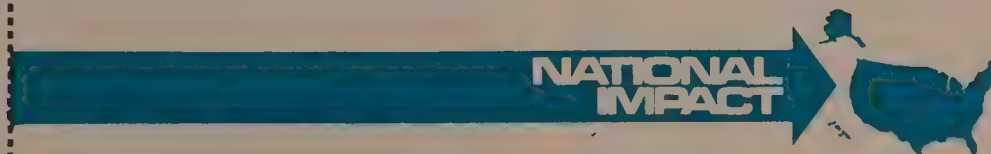
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PACIFIC

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 22

the stationing, manufacture, and testing of nuclear weapons, and the dumping of radioactive waste. Controversial transit and port visits by nuclear weapons vessels were left unrestricted, which limits the accord's significance.

Clearly, the pact is attributable in part to the activism stirred by the NFIP over the decade. Also known as the Treaty of Rarotonga, it was ratified by eight signatories in 1986. China and the Soviet Union have also signed it, while France, the United States, and Great Britain have refused.

ETHNIC TENSIONS

and the NFIP



"Toward a Concerted Effort in the Advancement of the Pacific People's Struggles for Self-Determination" was the theme of the fifth NFIP conference, held in Manila in 1987. Tensions were high as a result of political events within the region, turmoil in the Philippines, and administrative problems within the network itself. After five conferences over twelve years, there was a continuing question of trust between Rim people and islanders, and doubts about how the two groups could work together. One white Rim delegate reported in a post-conference internal summary that "white people are suspect and the role of white support groups is simply to support, without question. These are important experiences that need to be acknowledged, yet they raise questions about what kind of role support groups do play."

Two military coups in Fiji in 1987 heightened divisions within the NFIP movement. These coups overthrew Fiji's democratic, antinuclear, multiracial government. Subsequently, the new military-backed government stripped all rights from the majority Indian population, who the British had brought to Fiji a hundred years before.

Some conference delegates saw the coups as "indigenous people rightfully gaining control over their lands and culture," while others were deeply concerned over the suspension of democratic rights and the use of military force as a solution for ethnic prob-

lems. The conference tried to avoid the potentially divisive conflict and took a neutral stance. The final resolution recognized the rights of the indigenous Fijians to all their lands, while expressing sympathy for the Indian population, and condemning coups as a means of taking political power. Participants felt that given the difficulty of the struggles, the fragile NFIP movement needed to assert its unity. One speaker remarked that the NFIP movement had moved from naïve optimism to realism about the power struggles in the Pacific region.

PACIFIC WORK

in the United States



American peace activists have paid little attention to Pacific militarization, nu-

clear testing, or independence issues. Even with the large number of U.S. military personnel stationed in the Pacific and the "atomic vets" who were exposed to fallout from U.S. above-ground nuclear explosions, there never developed a broad understanding of the history and importance of the Pacific to U.S. strategic interests.

Greenpeace has maintained a strong and highly visible presence in the Pacific since its founding in 1971, most notably by sailing vessels into French nuclear testing areas. Such protests, which began when the *Vega* sailed into the Mururoa site in 1972, earned the violent retribution of the French when government agents blew up the *Rainbow Warrior* in Auckland harbor in 1986, killing a Greenpeace photographer. Recently, Greenpeace USA has



Palau Fights the United States

for its Nuclear-Free Constitution

The long political struggle between the Micronesian state of Palau and the United States was once again tested by Palauan voters. For the seventh time, on February 6, 1990, voters went to the polls to decide on the status of the Compact of Free Association (CFA). The CFA allows Palau domestic independence, giving the United States continued control of foreign policy and extensive military basing rights. Palauan voters rejected the CFA by a larger margin than in any of the six previous votes (60% to 40%). This was the fifth vote on the CFA in four years, and the low turnout of 65.7 percent shows that Palauan people are tired of the long struggle with the United States.

The United States seeks military basing rights in Palau as a fallback from possible loss of its Philippine bases. Washington has exerted extreme financial and political pressure on the 14,000 people of Palau for nearly eleven years, to rid the constitution of its troublesome nuclear-free clause. As Palauan Bernie Keldermans remarked in 1983, "In the late 1960s, the U.S. government encouraged us to write our own constitution. In doing so, we tried to apply what we had learned from the U.S. about democracy. . . we Palauans decided to ban the storage, transport, and testing of nuclear materials on our lands or surrounding waters." The Palauan Constitution, with its non-nuclear clause, was approved by 92 percent of the electorate. This exercise in democracy has proven unacceptable to Washington.

The recent defeat led Palau's pro-CFA president Ngiratkel Etpison to introduce a motion in the House of Delegates to reduce the existing three-quarter majority requirement for amending the nuclear-free constitution to a simple majority. Previous popular votes for a constitutional amendment have repeatedly failed to obtain a 75 percent majority.

Citizens for Palau Integrity responded to Etpison's motion by calling for a three-year moratorium on resolving Palau's political status. Their petition to the U.S. and Palau governments and to the United Nations seeks "to put the political status issue to rest for a time while we attempt to address the problems that are crippling the credibility and capability of our government." The petition asks for "an opportunity to rationally consider the alternatives in a relaxed and noncoercive atmosphere."

"Are not 14,000 people at liberty to say to the United States: 'Palau is where we wish to work, to play, to eat in joy,'" wrote Douglas Faulkner, whose words were read into the Congressional Record in November 1989. "We have no islands that are not our picnic islands. We have none, nor any reefs, No lagoons to spare for warships. No islands for tanks, troops, munitions. We have no spare children if we are harmed by weapons storage or nuclear attack. We thank you for your offer but it pleases us not. We could have no joy in having accepted it."

—excerpted from the Belau Update and Pacific News Bulletin

CHALLENGES *for the NFIP*

The future of NFIP work in the United States demands critical reevaluation. Funding will remain precarious as long as there is no attempt to develop a U.S. constituency. Native Americans, Asian-Americans, peace and justice organizations, and churches could provide a financial base to sustain Pacific work. Leadership in the United States will need to be shared between indigenous and nonindigenous peoples.



The NFIP movement has overcome daunting obstacles, including enormous geographic and cultural distances, to forge a working alliance of islanders and Rim activists. More, of course, needs to be done to reach beyond their limited victories and achieve a Pacific worthy of its name: *peaceful*.

Michael Bedford is director of Third World Reports in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He spent more than five years in the Philippines and Pacific, and writes regularly on military and political issues in Asia and the Pacific.

Intervention is justified on that basis. If there's going to be another Vietnam, it's going to be fought against coca growers in Peru or Colombia, or against the narcoterrorists—as the military now calls them—who, in the United States, are mainly black and Hispanic male youth who can't get employed

elsewhere. The same solution is going to be proposed: sending in military forces to get them.

I don't think the peace movement has really grappled with these issues. We're so happy there's détente internationally that we're not addressing these intervention issues.

BRUCE BIRCHARD: Mary talked about the way in which community-based groups grow in response to locally based issues like toxic pollution and the suffering of downwinders and radiation victims. The gulf that exists between so many of those people and those of us in the more traditional peace movement has a lot to do with class and style. Many of us approach issues in a more analytical way. There are also clear gender differences, to the extent that parts of our movement remain dominated by men who take this very rational and analytical approach. I think it is a terrible tragedy that men cannot accept other approaches to issues that begin more with personal experience. I'm struck by the importance of bridging that particular gap—still another gap that divides and weakens us.

MARY BUTTERS: I would like to ponder how, from my side, I can bridge that gap too.

We work a lot with young people. We have an office that accommodates children, with a TV, playroom, and kitchen, so that mothers can stay with their children. We have our own grade school, and high school students who keep regular office hours. They call themselves the foam busters. They've gotten the school board to ban styrofoam, and they're on the verge of a county ordinance banning it in 1990. They have their own educational programs, sanctioned by the school, where they actually teach, with regular class time set aside to save the world.

I feel that the high school students can come along and replace me, and the younger students that are learning can replace them. The three things that are important to have are fun, music, and kids, and I think we have those three things.

ANDREA AYVAZIAN: Jeff said that the peace movement, at least over the last several years, has invited poor people and people of color in, but has not been willing to share power: "Welcome to our move-



ment, with our norms and our values." And then we have the audacity to think that the peace movement, run by white, middle- to upper-class people, is somehow a culture-free zone, which it isn't.

NICK CARTER: We set people up for leadership only to knock them down. We don't trust people in positions of authority. We don't want them there. We deeply suspect their motives, and in the process we end up doing enormous violence to these people such that we burn them out and chase them away.

People have a death lock on power in our organizations. They're not willing to step back and give it up, to nurture others, and actually say, "Here, you take my place." People can't learn to be leaders until you give them a chance to lead. And I've been amazed that every time I've been willing to step back from a position of leadership, not only do terrific people come forward, but the organization does fine.

MARY BUTTERS: A lot of us come from dysfunctional families, we come from a dysfunctional culture, and we form dysfunctional organizations. To heal ourselves is an amazing process. I don't think we can go forth and change the world at large until we do that right at home.

BRUCE BIRCHARD: Andrea said that the peace movement has been moving from a war-peace axis to a liberation-oppression axis. I think we're really adding an axis, and many of us are not giving up on the war-peace axis.

But there's also another axis I want to suggest: the democratization-

centralization axis. Throughout the world, from China to Chile and the Philippines to Peru, there is a commitment to resist the global trend toward centralization of power, and to empower people at a grassroots level. Bringing together anti-military base activists from the Philippines and members of the new opposition movements in Eastern Europe with people in Idaho could be very worthwhile. Whether we work on crime in communities or low-intensity conflict or nuclear weapons, we believe that power, as well as wealth, needs to be shared.

JEFFREY RICHARDSON: I have a lot of agreement on Mary's point about dysfunctional families, a dysfunctional society, and dysfunctional organizations. I think it's critical that we look at the human side of the work that we're doing. Often the models that we use are, in fact, dysfunctional. I've seen some of the most devious, underhanded, vicious meetings on how to get people out of an organization. This kind of treatment will self-destruct the movement, and there will not be any young people to take over.

We have to discuss spiritual renewal as well, whether it's praying or playing music. We need to nurture each other as human beings more than as a movement.

DAMON MOGLEN: There have been some comments about the importance of play and fun, and one of the contradictions is that doing antinuclear work isn't really fun; it stinks. But Greenpeace's approach is through mischief, which is essentially playful. There's a tremendous amount of time spent thinking about mischief. The "subversive" kind of mischief is very invigorating and empowering, and it gives lots of people vicarious pleasure, especially when it's against the military.

ANDREA AYVAZIAN: We've talked about our dysfunctional society, dysfunctional families, and creating dysfunctional organizations despite our best wishes, and we've also talked about the need to nurture ourselves. Christopher Titmuss, a Buddhist teacher and peace worker, said: "Always remember that we are human beings, not human doings." We need time to be who we are, to enjoy our lives, our kids, our music, and to have fun!



D E A D L I N E

Competing Worldviews: New Challenges for Journalism

By Todd Gitlin

Paradigms Lost

Journalists convey not only information but a cognitive system—a prism through which to view the world, a framework in which to place the clutter of facts. The fancy word is *paradigm*, meaning a rough definition of the situation and a way of explaining it that gives meaning to events and suggests what is and is not worth looking at. If

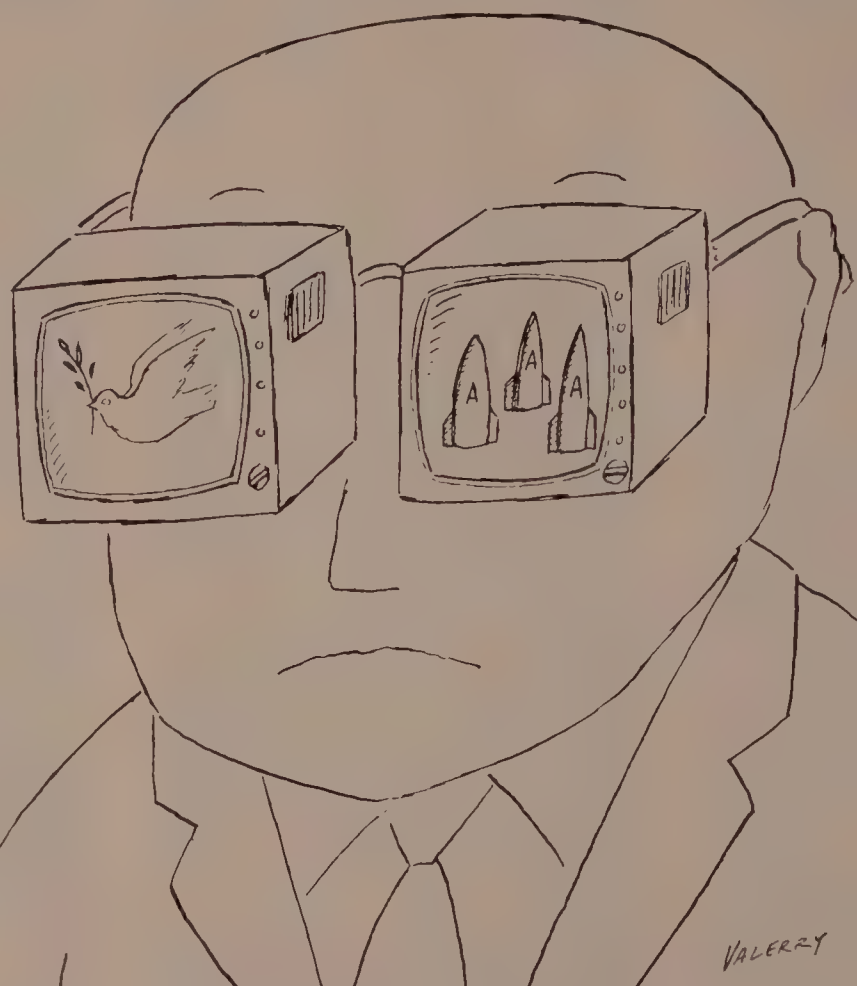
Would new developments help or hinder the cause of the West?

At least five major interlocking assumptions were part of the framework: that East-West antagonism was, in effect, permanent; that socialism and capitalism were mutually exclusive; that one-party totalitarian systems were unchangeable; that the two blocs posed a significant military danger to each

During the past year, American journalists who cover East-West relations have

staked out a critical distance from Washington's foreign policy that is unprecedented since World War II. The tension between journalists' sense that the Soviet threat has evaporated and Washington's desire to conduct business as usual has been palpable. The result has been that, to an unprecedented degree, the media have resisted the White House's efforts to set the terms of debate.

Judging by their coverage, many in the press believe that the Cold War thaw has turned into a torrent, and the old dichotomy of America, defender of freedom, versus the Soviet Union, expansionist totalitarian empire, no longer clarifies or explains the onrush of new facts and possibilities. With this broad agreement, however, has also come puzzlement. Indeed, journalists today are faced with an enigma wrapped in a quandary: A global transformation that was not supposed to have been possible is upon us. But how is one to cover a global transformation when the old categories of understanding are suddenly obsolete? Instead of the single, reliable Cold War framework that told us how the world worked, there is now a contest of frameworks, from which no new victor has yet emerged.



other (usually the East to the West); and that Cold War rivalry explained what the superpowers and much of the rest of the world did. Given such assumptions, the question raised, for example, by the revolutions in Vietnam and Angola, or by the socialist government in Chile, was whether they would extend Soviet power.

Experts, honing the paradigm, presumed that the Cold War was necessary and permanent, and interpreted all events in its light. Rounding up former officials and think-tank pundits, the press could write orchestral variations on the standard themes. There were twists and turning points, but all within a setting that left little room for genuine surprise.

ever we wondered what the word meant, all the talk about "the end of the Cold War" should make it plain. Journalists can no more do without paradigms than they can cease writing prose.

For almost half a century, the Cold War was the master paradigm, the grand narrative, for journalism as well as politics. It provided the single set of questions that loomed behind coverage not only of East-West relations but international affairs in general: How was our side doing in the global horse race?

Thus, most journalists missed the story of what was happening in Eastern Europe. They treated dissidents as victims and lone heroes, rather than as representatives of something larger: a civil society coming into being after decades of failed totalitarianism. Most journalistic sophisticates presumed they were not serious players. Reporters on the scene used them as sources, but their faces and ideas remained unfamiliar on this side of the Atlantic.

As sometimes happens, facts ex-

ploded the paradigm. As the Berlin Wall came down, so did the framework that supported it. Now many, perhaps most, editors, producers, and reporters know that the Cold War paradigm has collapsed. As a cognitive system, it cannot account for what is going on in Azerbaijan or South Africa. As a moral two-pole switch, it cannot illuminate problems of economy, ecology, and human rights.

But just as medieval astronomers held on to the idea that the sun revolved around the earth long after their observations indicated otherwise, the White House has clung to the Cold War paradigm despite its inadequacy as a framework for explaining what is taking place in the world today. Indeed, officials have acknowledged—if not for attribution—that negotiating the emerging new world has been “kind of scary,” as R.W. Apple, Jr., reported in a January 15, 1989, *New York Times* story. Major figures in the Bush administration were promoting the notion of “status quo plus” while Gorbachev was calling for deep arms cuts.

The striking thing is that journalists and news organizations refused to simply sit back and read Bush’s lips. In 1989, the news media carried a good deal of criticism of U.S. foreign policy. “The situation cries out,” wrote David Broder of the *Washington Post* in a December 6 column, “for a president capable of imagining and describing the shape of a new world order and defining America’s role in it. Bush has yet to do that.”

As revolution swept across East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, and the Baltics, status quo plus was dropped from the White House lexicon, but the tattoo of press criticism continued. Typically, Timothy J. McNulty, writing in the *Chicago Tribune* on November 13, described Bush and his advisers as “increasingly befuddled.” R.W. Apple, Jr., in a February 9, 1990, story, WHAT IS BUSH UP TO?, cited criticism of the president’s tour of military bases at the moment his secretary of state was traveling to Moscow for arms-reductions talks. “To many in Washington,” he wrote, “much of the president’s activity has seemed seriously, sometimes almost surrealistically, out of sync.”

A New Contest

As such criticism suggests, many in the press believe that business-as-usual misses the point about a new era in world politics. Yet journalists are by no means sure themselves how to respond. The problem is that no clear alternative to the Cold War has yet emerged as a way of conceptualizing U.S. relations with the Soviet Union, Europe, and the rest of the world.

Instead, what is now under way is a contest of interpretations — indeed, two contests, one historical, one forward-looking. And while the press has contributed, it could do much more to clarify the terms of this necessary debate. The historical question circulating in Washington is, “Why isn’t the Cold War what it used to be?” The principal answer offered is that military containment worked. Not as clearly articulated is the competing view that America’s strategic military advantages, already considerable in the time of Stalin and Khrushchev, accomplished nothing for Hungary in 1956 or Czechoslovakia in 1968. Instead, they led to militarism and imperial overreach on both sides.

But the more important contest of interpretations concerns what will follow. For the Bush administration, worst-case scenarios continue to drive the military budget. As the threat from the East—from the tanks of Lech Walesa and Václav Havel—loses credibility, the administration finds itself speaking of NATO as an end in itself. It is joined by those in Congress who differ over a weapons system here and there, but seem to lack any new understanding of the extraordinary changes and opportunities at hand.

As events continue to boil, grasping the possible new paradigms is something like writing on a waterfall. It becomes more and more difficult for America to define itself primarily in terms of its opposition to communism. Some, such as Thomas Friedman in a *New York Times* news analysis, AS IDEOLOGY RECEDES, THE U.S. REARRANGES ITS GLOBAL STRUGGLES, last December 31, recognize the need to clarify new interpretations. But even here, the voices heard are too often those of the usual suspects. We need much more delibera-

tion in this vein, and a wider sweep, to further the debate. No dominant paradigm has emerged, but competing themes, and fragments of themes, are now in circulation.

One such theme, circulating in Washington and in the media, is *Great Power Rivalry*. In his December 31 analysis, Friedman described this framework for future international relations as “traditional power politics,” which he contrasted to the “ideological competition...so prominent in global politics” in the last four decades. “When the glow over the end of the Cold War fades,” he wrote, “watch for Washington and Moscow to go on competing for advantage on the Eurasian land mass, just as they have for nearly a half-century.” In such a view, geopolitics is destiny. Tocqueville, after all, anticipated U.S.-Russian rivalry a century and a half ago.

While compatible with modest arms control, the Great Power Rivalry view presumes massive military establishments East and West, defines national security primarily in terms of military strength, and requires that the United States go on playing its China card lest the Soviet Union attempt to capture it. Journalists who take Great Power Rivalry for granted would tend to report issues of strategy and military budgets with these presumptions. In arms control, for example, they would take for granted the military importance of the weapons in question and scant their political significance. They would tend to ignore sources who call for deep military cuts and who criticize the strategic rationales offered for weapons systems.

Alongside Great Power Rivalry circulates the more inchoate theme of *Great Power Condominium*. In this view, as the Cold War melts down, the world’s (and especially Europe’s) principle of order is being lost. It holds that the great powers have a common interest in policing their respective spheres of the world—the Americans by invading Panama, for example, and the Soviets by threatening to intervene in Romania. In Afghanistan, Namibia, and, at least potentially, the Middle East, the focus is placed on U.S.-Soviet cooperation.

Despite their divergent emphases,

the two Great Power views overlap more than they differ. President Bush, for example, easily straddled the two when he began suggesting that the United States has a stake in Gorbachev's success with *perestroika*. Both views take for granted a worldwide American military presence, including NATO and a bloc division of Europe — although both could accommodate the notion that U.S. forces should be scaled down.

A third view, not necessarily incompatible with the two Great Power frameworks, downplays the U.S.-Soviet relationship and points to the need to counter new threats to American interests from the third world. As advanced in the 1988 Iklé-Wohlstetter Commission report, *Discriminate Deterrence*, the view holds that the West is now secure vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. It is now time to regear the military for rapid deployment to regional hot spots and for special operations in areas of "low-intensity conflict"—in other words, time for America to play *Third World Policeman*. The president himself recently stressed the "new threats" the United States is facing, including Libyan and Iranian terrorism, and nuclear proliferation—the latter becoming a rationale for accelerating development of strategic defense.

A Global View

A fourth perspective, stated most forcefully in the 1982 Olof Palme Commission report, but also reflected in the work of Paul Kennedy and members of what is sometimes referred to as the School of Decline, stresses the limits, even obsolescence, of military

strength in ensuring national security. Rather than military threats to U.S. territory or its allies, the primary dangers are seen as the East-West military confrontation itself, and ecological and economic problems on a global scale. The fear is that, absent a genuinely global vision, we enter blindly into a two-tier world in which the United

the least visible in the American press. It generally must be pieced together from marginal voices, or from suggestive snippets heard from former insiders such as Robert McNamara and George Kennan. Don Oberdorfer of the *Washington Post* made one of few references to the perspective in his May 7, 1989, analysis of post-Cold

War opportunities and dangers, quoting McNamara invoking the 1941 Atlantic Charter with its emphasis on non-aggression.

In Europe, however, the discussion is much further advanced. Many there are looking to the thirty-five-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe talks on force reduction, and to the European Parliament, as ways of creating political security outside the old bloc structure. The American press has paid little attention to such developments. For example, although the *Financial Times* of London reported on February 1 that Czechoslovakia's

president Havel had called for a European peace conference and an end to the bloc system, American papers ignored the story. And although Reuters reported on February 6 that Havel had "presented U.S. secretary of state James Baker...with a proposal for the total withdrawal of Soviet and U.S. troops from Europe," neither the *New York Times* nor the *Washington Post* ran the item.

Similarly, reporting on international institutions—many of which were once considered impotent, but are now finding a renewed sense of mission in the new environment—remains woefully inadequate. Paul Lewis, United Nations correspondent for the *New York*



States, Europe, and Japan fight over shares of a common northern hemispheric home while sitting nervously astride the third world homeless.

In this view, the meltdown of the Cold War means a chance to redefine international security, indeed, to redraw the map of the world. Security, in this perspective, is achieved through disarmament, the defusing of flash-points, mutual reassurance, negotiated solutions, force withdrawals in Europe, and nonaggressive defense. Its buzzword is *Common Security*, but the rethinking required here is so formidable, no simple phrase seems adequate.

Of the four views, this last has been

Times, provided one of the few examples of coverage in a January 21 report about the revival of the U.N. Security Council in the context of negotiations over Cambodia. But his brief article was a flash in the darkness. What might this kind of U.N. action, coming on the heels of U.N. successes in Afghanistan, Namibia, and the Persian Gulf, imply about new arrangements for global security? Reporters haven't asked the question.

Why has so little attention been paid to this fourth perspective? Partly, one surmises, because no potent leaders or factions in Washington have embraced it. Journalists have been willing to criticize, but not to get too far out in front. Forty years of Cold War have been both intimidating and intellectually deadening. Now, without the old scorecard, journalists are not alone in finding themselves ill-equipped to grasp what is at stake in the world when conflicts are

not comprehensible in East-West terms.

Most journalists would argue that it is not their role to embrace—by paying particular attention to—a new worldview. But conventional journalism will not help us grasp a world that is changing with breathtaking speed—a polycentric world in which the United States no longer calls important political shots, in which there are more than two teams, in which, indeed, popular movements overturn governments. Admitting new voices into the conversation about the shape of the new world would help us see it now for what it really is.

Journalists thrive on conflict—and what could be more provocative than the emerging conflict over how to rethink the world? Paradigms are inescapable; adopting them is part and parcel of the task of interpretation, which journalists undertake every day. In fact, journalists now face a critical choice:

Round up the usual suspects and sink back to recording the narrow game that absorbs Washington's key players; or give the American public new political, economic, social, and ideological possibilities to think about.

Amid the political default in Washington, the press has a particularly important role to play—not by embracing a worldview, but by clarifying the choices. If ever there was a time when the boundaries of debate need to be broken through, the time is now.

Todd Gitlin is professor of sociology at the University of California at Berkeley and the author of The Whole World is Watching, Inside Prime Time, and The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage. This article is abridged and excerpted from Deadline, which is published bi-monthly by the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media. Copyright 1990, New York University.

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International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, 126 Rogers St., Cambridge, MA 02142, (617) 868-5050.

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Oak Ridge Environmental Peace Alliance, P.O. Box 1101, Knoxville, TN 37901, (615) 573-2322.

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Union of Concerned Scientists, 26 Church St., Cambridge, MA 02238, (617) 547-5552.

U.S. CTB Coalition, 1000 16th St., NW, Suite 810, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 862-4956.

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Minnesota Jobs with Peace Campaign, 1929 S. 5th St., Minneapolis, MN 55454, (612) 338-7955.

National Commission for Economic Conversion & Disarmament, 1621 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 350, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 462-0091.

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Pacific News Bulletin, Pacific Concerns Resource Center, P.O. Box 489, Petersham NSW 2049, Australia.

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Pittsburgh Jobs with Peace Campaign, 802 N. Homewood Ave., 2nd Floor, Pittsburgh, PA 15208, (412) 242-6700.

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Quest for Peace, Quixote Center, P.O. Box 5206, Hyattsville, MD 20782, (301) 699-0042.

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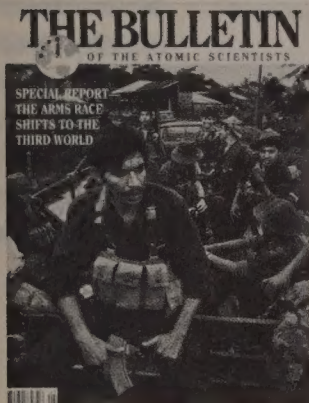
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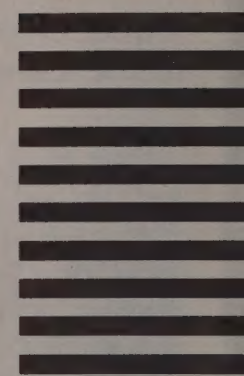
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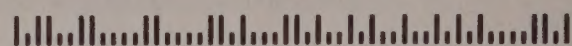
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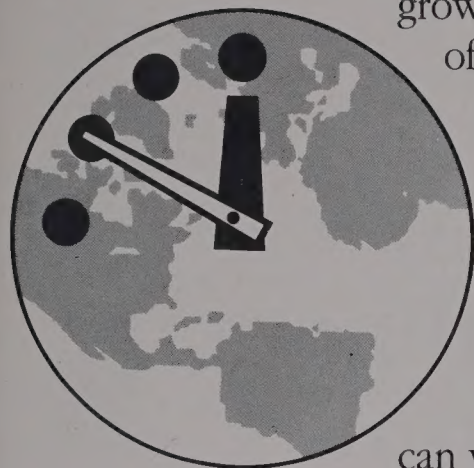
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